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Citation style: Jakubowska Ewa. (1999). Cross-cultural dimensions of politeness in the case of Polish and English. Katowice : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego



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EWA JAKUBOWSKA

**CROSS-CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF
POLITENESS**

IN THE CASE OF POLISH AND ENGLISH



Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego



Katowice 1999

CROSS-CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF
POLITENESS
IN THE CASE OF POLISH AND ENGLISH

To my Parents

Prace Naukowe
Uniwersytetu Śląskiego
w Katowicach
nr 1764

EWA JAKUBOWSKA

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POLITENESS
IN THE CASE OF POLISH AND ENGLISH**

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego



Katowice 1999

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Neophilological Linguistics
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OGN 2664

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Abbreviations

Adj	– adjective
Adv	– adverb
CA	– contrastive analysis
cp	– contrastive pragmatics
CP	– Cooperative Principle
CS	– contrastive studies
D	– social distance
Dim	– diminutive
FIE	– <i>Function in English</i> , by Blundell et al., see References
FN	– first name
form	– formal
FSA	– face-supportive act
FTA	– face-threatening act
G	– giver
Gen	– genitive
GN	– generic name
H	– hearer
IFID	– Illocutionary Force Indicating Device
IL	– interlanguage
inf	– informal
KT	– kinship title
L1	– first language
L2	– second language
Lat	– Latin
LN	– last name
MN	– multiple naming
MP	– Model Person
NL	– native language
Nom	– nominative

NP	– noun phrase
P	– power
pl	– plural
PP	– Politeness Principle
R	– ranking
Rc	– recipient
S	– speaker
SA	– speech act
SLA	– second language acquisition
sg	– singular
SN	– surname
T	– title
TC	– <i>tertium comparationis</i>
T form	– a familiar, or intimate pronoun
TL	– target language
V	– verb
V form	– a polite, or formal pronoun
VP	– verb phrase

Acknowledgments

It is hard to express adequately my gratitude to Professor Janusz Arabski, my adviser. He has helped me in many particulars with my doctoral dissertation, of which this book is a shortened version, but my larger debt to him as a student outweighs this.

I would also like to express special thanks to the reviewers, Professor Kazimierz Polański and Professor Roman Kalisz, who have made generous and detailed criticisms of my dissertation.

I am also grateful to Dr. Ireneusz Jakubczak for some useful comments on reading the manuscript. Many improvements came out of discussions and criticism by my sister, Monika, who has been an invaluable source of linguistic and other intuitions. I must also thank Ula and Adam Weber, who helped me to carry out the tests in Birmingham.

Finally, as the dedication says, are my parents, Wanda and Tadeusz Bogdanowski, without whose inspiration and great support I would not have been able to finish the book.

The responsibility for the book is mine; any credit I happily share with all those mentioned above.

Introduction

The subject of the present study is the verbal realization of polite speech acts, namely greetings, farewells, thanks, apologies, compliments, congratulations, good wishes, toasts, and condolences.

The main aim of the study is to provide a pragmatic contrastive analysis of polite verbal behaviour in Polish and English, stressing the most striking differences and similarities in the form and content of the polite formulae used in particular contexts. The analysis was carried out to assist the author in answering the following questions: To what extent does polite verbal behaviour differ in these two languages? Where and why does it differ? Where can the greatest difference be perceived?

Structurally, this study consists of 3 chapters and final conclusions. Chapter 1 gives a pragmatic background. Chapter 2 delineates the methodology used in the study. Chapter 3 provides the pragmatic contrastive analysis of some polite formulae in Polish and English.

1. Pragmatic background

1.1. The scope of pragmatics

The term *pragmatics* in its modern sense was first used by the philosopher Charles Morris (1938). Morris was interested in semiotics, the study of systems of signs, within which he distinguished three distinct branches of inquiry: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Syntax is the study of how words combine to form sentences, the study of the relationships between linguistic forms. Semantics is the study of the relationships between linguistic forms and the things they denote. By pragmatics Morris understood the study of “the relations of signs to interpreters” (ibid.:6). The definition is still valid, but the scope of the term is not clear and differs from linguist to linguist. In general, it is held to deal with deixis, presupposition, conversational implicature, speech acts, and conversational structure (Levinson, 1987).

As generally understood, pragmatics is thus the study of language usage, or more precisely “the study of the meaning of linguistic utterances for their users and interpreters” (Leech and Thomas, 1990:173). Particularly it covers “those aspects of the meaning of utterances which cannot be accounted for by straightforward reference to the truth conditions of the sentences uttered” (Gazdar, 1979:2).

In the beginning, pragmatics was closer to philosophy than to linguistics. In the 70's, when linguistic pragmatics developed, it was inspired by three philosophers, namely, J.L. Austin, J.R. Searle, and H.P. Grice. Leech and Thomas (1990:175) call them “philosophers of communication”: “for the term communication, associating language with its use to convey messages by users for interpreters, is at the heart of their work, and is at the heart of pragmatics”. Following Austin (1975), Searle (1969, 1979), and Grice (1975), many linguists

have tried to work out principles responsible for assigning meaning to utterances in particular contexts. Leech (1983:6) defines pragmatics as “the study of meaning in relation to speech situations” which are analysed in terms of the Speaker (S) and the Hearer (H), context, goals, illocutionary acts, and utterance.

Fraser (1993:30) defines pragmatics as “the theory of linguistic communication”, involving the context of the linguistic communication, the strategies by means of which S wants to accomplish the intended communication, and the particular circumstances of the communication. In both definitions context is an important notion. Gumperz (1985:131) also stresses the importance of some linguistic features in pragmatic analysis, namely *contextualization cues* by which Ss signal, and Hs interpret “how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows”. Besides these linguistic features, context labels other features that are culturally and linguistically relevant to the production and interpretation of utterances. Describing the features, Malinowski (1923) coined the terms *context of culture* and *context of situation*. By the former, he means the total cultural background. By the latter, he means the environment of the conversation. Context of situation may be compared to what Fillmore (1980) calls situation. Fillmore’s situations can be divided into “those in which what is predominant is (1) the speaker’s feelings and attitudes, (2) the character of the activity in which the utterance plays a role, and the degree of specialization of the utterance form to the activity, (3) the nature of the social and spatial relationships between the participants in the communication event, and (4) the development of the speaker’s activities (and the interpreter’s experience) through time” (cf. Lyons, 1977; Schiffrin, 1988; Halliday and Hasan, 1990).

Levinson (1987), in his influential textbook *Pragmatics*, devotes a lot of space to defining the term pragmatics. He distinguishes between its “Continental” and “Anglo-American” interpretations (ibid.:5). The Anglo-American interpretation is more restrictive and is closely connected with the traditional linguistic concern with sentence structure and grammar. The Continental interpretation, covered mainly by the *Journal of Pragmatics*, is much broader and includes discourse analysis, the ethnography of communication, and some aspects of psycholinguistics (cf. Fillmore, 1980:126).

Leech (1983) distinguishes three kinds of pragmatic studies:

- *general pragmatics* – the abstract study of the general conditions of the communicative use of language in terms of conversational principles
- *socio-pragmatics* – “the sociological interface of pragmatics” (ibid.:10) (culture-specific studies)
- *pragmalinguistics* – “the study of the more linguistic end of pragmatics” which refers to “the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions” (ibid.:11) (language-specific studies).

Pragmatics is sometimes contrasted with semantics. Both of them deal with meaning – semantics with sentence meaning, and pragmatics with utterance meaning (the meaning of the sentence uttered in a particular context). Unlike pragmatics, semantics deals with meaning without reference to the users and the communicative functions of the sentence (Levinson, 1987; Richards et al., 1992).

Linguists differ as to where they see a boundary between pragmatics and sociolinguistics. It is difficult to draw a neat dividing line between these disciplines. Briefly, sociolinguists are interested in the inter-relationships between language and society, whereas pragmaticists deal with the inter-relationships between sentences and the contexts in which they are used (Levinson, 1987; Richards et al., 1992).

Some aspects of context, namely the power-distance relationship of the interactants and the extent to which S imposes on H, are particularly determinant of language choice in the domain of politeness. “Seen as the exercise of language choice to create a context intended to match an external context (specifically, what the speaker considers an appropriate means of addressing them), politeness phenomena are a paradigm example of pragmatic usage” (Grundy, 1995:127). Thus, perceived this way, the notion of politeness is one of the crucial issues in linguistic pragmatics. Within its framework, in which language is considered in terms of action, the linguistic aspects of politeness phenomena have been accounted for in three main theories of politeness: Lakoff (1973), Leech (1983), and Brown and Levinson (1990) (see Subsections 1.3.2., 1.3.3., and 1.3.4.).

In cross-cultural communication, i.e. that between two people who do not share a common linguistic or cultural background (cf. Zawadzka, 1995), *pragmatic failure* may occur – “an inability to recognize the force of the speaker’s utterance when the speaker intended that this particular hearer should recognize it” (Thomas, 1983:94). There are two approaches to pragmatic failure. The first one is *contrastive pragmatics* (cp), the cross-cultural or cross-linguistic comparison of speech act realization patterns through the identification of differences and similarities between languages (purely descriptive studies) (Fillmore, 1980; Oleksy, 1980; Riley, 1981; Krzeszowski, 1990). The second approach to pragmatic failure is *interlanguage pragmatics*, the study of the relationship between the learners’ prior knowledge and pragmatic performance, in other words the comparison of learners’ interlanguage (IL) (see Arabski, 1979) production and comprehension with parallel native language (NL) and target language (TL) data (Selinker, 1972; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993).

Summing up his discussion on the scope of pragmatics, Levinson (1987:32) claims that “if one really wants to know what a particular field is concerned with at any particular time, one must simply observe what practitioners do”.

Some phenomena treated autonomously in pragmatics get integrated into the field of conversational analysis (see Section 1.2.).

1.2. Conversational discourse

This chapter is intended to serve as an introduction to crucial notions and phenomena connected with conversational discourse. First of all, standard theories of speech acts will be presented (see Subsection 1.2.1.). Basically, these are concerned with mapping utterances onto speech act categories. However, utterances by means of which speech acts are performed cannot be considered in isolation, without their context being taken into consideration.

The functions that utterances perform are also connected with the place they occupy within specific conversational sequences, which will be discussed in Subsection 1.2.2.

Subsection 1.2.3. will deal with the conversational routines and polite formulae by means of which polite speech acts are performed.

In Subsection 1.2.4., conversational principles formulated by Grice will be presented as main guidelines for understanding the effective use of language in conversation.

Finally, Subsection 1.2.5. will be concerned with the Theory of Relevance formulated by Sperber and Wilson, which is intended to replace the Cooperative Principle.

1.2.1. Speech act theories

In 1955 the philosopher John Austin delivered a set of lectures at Harvard University, later published as *How to Do Things with Words* (1975). They had a great influence on the study of language, both in the philosophy of language and in linguistic pragmatics. Austin argued that some utterances cannot be assessed truth-conditionally. These have the form of a present tense indicative active sentence with a first-person subject. Uttering such a sentence “is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would *normally* be described as [...] saying something” (ibid.:5). Austin calls them *performatives*, or *speech acts*, and divides them into five categories.

Although performatives, unlike *constatives* (e.g. statements, assertions), cannot be true or false, they can be *felicitous* or *infelicitous*. Austin proposed a set of felicity conditions that must be met for performatives to be successful. First, there must be a conventional procedure for doing a certain act, and it must specify in what circumstances what kind of person may do it. Second, the

procedure must be correctly executed and carried through to completion. Finally, the participants must have thoughts, feelings, and intentions specified in the procedure. Thus, by uttering a sentence like *I apologize for my behaviour*, S sincerely apologizes to H, if there exists any past or present act which can be actually or potentially offensive to H, and if S really feels the need to apologize.

Austin claims that a performative utterance, besides having meaning, also has a specific force by which it performs a specific action, namely *illocutionary force* (e.g. although the sentences *Close the window* and *It's cold in here* have different forms and meaning, when uttered they can have the same illocutionary force, i.e. they order H to close the window).

By making a performative utterance, S simultaneously performs three kinds of acts (ibid.:94–107):

- *locutionary act*, the utterance of a sentence which is meaningful and can be understood
- *perlocutionary act*, the effect that is produced by means of uttering of a sentence
- *illocutionary act*, the utterance of a sentence to perform an action by virtue of the force associated with it.

The term *speech act* (SA) refers exclusively to the illocutionary act.

Performative utterances, or speech acts, can be either *explicit*, i.e. containing a performative verb which names the illocutionary force of the utterance (e.g. *I thank you*), or *implicit*, i.e. those which do not contain a performative verb (e.g. *I feel grateful*).

Phatic communion is a specific kind of speech in which also, according to Malinowski (1923:315), “Each utterance is an act serving the direct aim of binding hearer to speaker by a tie of some social sentiment or other”. Phrases like *How do you do?*, *Nice day*, and some compliments fulfil only a social function, creating a friendly atmosphere between interlocutors.

Trying to elaborate on Austin’s theory of speech acts, Searle (1969, 1977, 1979) provided his own “alternative taxonomy” of illocutionary speech acts (1979):

- *assertives*, which commit S to the truth of the expressed proposition (e.g. *state, claim, report, announce*)
- *directives*, by which S attempts to bring about some effect through the action of H (e.g. *order, request, demand, beg*)
- *commissives*, which commit S to some future action (e.g. *promise, offer, swear to do something*)
- *expressives*, which express S’s psychological state (e.g. *thank, apologize, congratulate*)
- *declarations*, which bring about changes in the status or condition of some objects solely by virtue of the successful performance of the declaration (e.g. *name the ship, resign, sentence, dismiss, excommunicate, christen*).

Instead of Austin's felicity conditions, Searle formulated twelve "significant dimensions of variation in which illocutionary acts differ" (1977:28–31):

1. *differences in the point (or purpose) of the (type of) act*
2. *differences in the direction of fit between words and the world* (some illocutions have as their illocutionary point to get the words to match the world, e.g. assertions, others to get the world to match the words, e.g. requests)
3. *differences in expressed psychological states* (in the performance of any illocutionary act with a propositional content, S expresses some attitude, state, etc. to that propositional content)
4. *differences in the force or strength with which the illocutionary point is presented*
5. *differences in the status or position of S and H as these bear on the illocutionary force of the utterance*
6. *differences in the way the utterance relates to the interests of S and H*
7. *differences in relations to the rest of the discourse*
8. *differences in propositional content that are determined by illocutionary force indicating devices*
9. *differences between those acts that must always be speech acts and those that can be, but need not be, speech acts*
10. *differences between those acts that require extralinguistic institutions for their performance and those that do not*
11. *differences between those acts where the corresponding illocutionary verb has a performative use and those where it does not*
12. *differences in the style of performance of the illocutionary act.*

Searle argues that, on the basis of these twelve conditions, different speech acts can easily be distinguished. The most important of them all are conditions (1), (2) and (4) (Kalisz, 1993).

Both Austin and Searle are aware of the same conventionally used polite speech acts playing social functions (i.e. Austin's *behabitives* and Searle's *expressives*). Besides, Austin mentions "numerous conventional expressions of feeling, very similar in some ways, which are certainly nothing to do with performatives" and which may be called "polite phrases" (*I have pleasure in calling upon the next speaker. I am sorry to have to say ... I am gratified to be in a position to announce ...*) (ibid.:81).

Searle stresses the importance of *indirect speech acts*. In his definition, an indirect speech act is a case "in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another" (1979:31). Indirectness is an important element of politeness. This is true especially in the case of directives, because ordinary conversational requirements of politeness do not permit the utterance of direct imperative sentences (e.g. *Close the window*), and explicit performatives (e.g. *I order you to close the window*). Thus, to be polite S has to use certain forms

“which naturally tend to become the conventionally polite ways of making indirect requests” (ibid.:49) (e.g. *Could you close the window?*) (see Subsection 1.3.5.).

Gordon and Lakoff (1975) also dealt with indirect speech acts. They tried to account for the relation between the direct and indirect force of this kind of utterances. They formulated “conversational postulates” operating on the deep structures of sentences. Leech (1983) proposes a more Gricean approach to indirect speech acts, where “indirect illocutionary force is stated simply by means of a set of implicatures”, and “all illocutions are indirect, [...] there is, however, a great deal of variation in their degree of indirectness” (ibid.:33). Edmondson (1981) proposes a “*hearer-knows-best principle*”, “such that H’s interpretation of S’s behaviour may be said to determine what S’s behaviour counts as at that point of time in the ongoing conversation” (ibid.:50). This principle can be applied to the interpretation of spoken discourse, and indirect speech acts in particular.

1.2.2. Conversational structure

Discourse is “a structured event manifest in linguistic (and other) behaviour” (Edmondson, 1981:4). Richards et al. (1992:111) define it as “language which has been produced as the result of an act of communication”. One of the meaningful units of spoken discourse is conversation, “that familiar predominant kind of talk in which two or more participants freely alternate in speaking” (Levinson, 1987:284).

Conversation as “a structured event” is made up of *encounters*, which can be viewed *transactionally* (i.e. the main aim of the encounter is the efficient transference of information; the language used is primarily “message oriented”), or *interactionally* (i.e. the main aim of the encounter is establishing and maintaining social relationships) (Brown and Yule, 1988:2–3; cf. descriptive and social-expressive functions of language in Lyons (1977)).

The interactional view of language in conversation can be compared to the phatic communion proposed by Malinowski (1923). In interactional encounters small talk may provide proper topics (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992).

During an encounter, one or more phases may occur. Three kinds of phase can be distinguished: an *opening phase*, a *central phase* “in which the main business of the respective encounter is transacted”, and a *closing phase* (ibid.:215). Openings and closings are highly conventionalized and always have interactional character; the former consist of exchanges in which interlocutors

acknowledge each other's presence and establish their social roles during the conversation; in the latter, the conversation is brought to an end. Every phase consists of at least two exchanges. There are two kinds of exchanges: *head exchanges* in which main business is transacted, and *pre-* and *post-exchanges*, which are optional. Pre-exchanges have many functions; among others they can introduce a topic, or prepare the ground for a request, as in:

1. pre-exchange A: *What a nice jumper!*
 B: *Thank you. Do you really like it?*
 head-exchange A: *Sure. Would you lend it to me for tonight?*
 B: *Well, yes.*

Post-exchanges confirm, or make more precise, the outcome of the head-exchange (ibid.).

Every exchange consists of at least two *interactional moves* which are performed by alternating speakers (for the kinds of interactional moves see Edmondson (1981:86, 100)). Moves are composed of *interactional acts* which are the smallest units of interactional structure in terms of which discourse structure should be described (cf. Labov, 1972). Edmondson (1981) distinguishes three distinct elements of conversational behaviour related to the notion of exchange: uptaking, replying, and reciprocating. He describes the structure of an interactional move in terms of (*Uptake*) *Head (Appealer)* (cf. Sinclair and Coulthard, 1992). S may produce *Uptake*, which creates a link with the preceding move, when he wants "to ratify H's preceding head illocution as a contribution to the discourse before producing the head of his own move" (ibid.:85), and in this way he may comply with the H-supportive maxim and save H's face, or reassure the previous S that the communication channel is open, and that he has heard him, or signal that he is willing to assume a speaking role, or plug a gap to formulate his thoughts properly (cf. Keller, 1981). *Appealers*, on the other hand, are used to solicit *Uptake* from H. Unlike *Head* acts, which realize illocutionary acts, *Uptaking* and *Appealing* acts do not have illocutionary force and do not convey any information (Edmondson, 1981; Edmondson, 1981a; Krzeszowski, 1990). In any interactional exchange, one interlocutor replies by means of his move to the previous move of the other. In "ritual exchanges" the appropriate "reply" is a *reciprocation*, i.e. the move of the first S and the "reply" of the other one are identical (e.g. *Good morning – Good morning*) (Edmondson, 1981:83).

Another two phenomena relevant to the conversation structure should be mentioned here, namely *turn-taking* and *adjacency pairs*. During a conversation speaker-listener roles change. Interlocutors make their moves, or utterances as Schegloff (1977, after Edmondson, 1981) calls them, alternately by *taking turns*. A turn "consists of all S's utterances up to the point when another person takes

over the role of S” (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992:229), and these utterances have illocutionary force. Sacks et al. (1974) propose a set of rules with ordered options operating on a turn-by-turn basis (Levinson 1987; Schiffrin 1988). Turns can overlap (when two Ss speak simultaneously), or there can be a gap between them (such a gap is usually measurable in a few “micro-seconds”, as Levinson (1987:296–7) claims).

An *adjacency pair* is “a sequentially constrained pair of turns at talk in which the occurrence of a first pair-part creates a slot for the occurrence of a second pair-part [...], such that the non-occurrence of the second part is heard as an official absence” (Schiffrin, 1988:268) (e.g. question – answer, greeting – greeting, compliment – response) (cf. a “three-part exchange” in Tsui, 1994).

1.2.3. Conversational routines

Everyday interaction involves ritual, convention and routine (Coulmas, 1981). The recurrence of certain communicative goals in interpersonal communication results in some communicative strategies being turned into “interaction rituals”, as Goffman (1967) calls them. He compares the “little ceremonies of everyday life” to religious rituals. For Goffman (1971:62), *ritual* is “a perfunctory, conventionalized act through which an individual portrays his respect and regard for some object of ultimate value or to its stand-in”. In other words, it is a standardized way of successfully organizing interpersonal communication. A similar reading of the term *ritual* can be found in Firth (1972; after Ferguson, 1981) who connects it with “formal procedures of a communicative but arbitrary kind, having the effect of controlling or regularizing a social situation” (ibid.:3). *Convention* is “generally accepted practice, esp. with regard to social behaviour” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 1987:225), while *routine* is “a regular and habitual way of working or doing things” (ibid.:912). Applying these two terms to interactional communication Coulmas (1981) discusses the importance of *conversational routines*, “tacit agreements, which the members of a community presume to be shared by every reasonable co-member”, and which “are essential in the handling of day-to-day situations” (ibid.:4). While rituals serve as boundary markers for major changes in social status (e.g. puberty rites, weddings, funerals, or graduation ceremonies), routines can mark the boundaries of speech events by opening and closing them (Saville-Troike, 1982). Conversational routines consist in uttering, in certain situations, certain stereotyped phrases which encode certain language-specific interactional meanings (Peisert, 1991; Wierzbicka, 1991). Routine use of some

expressions has an effect on the meaning or loss of meaning of certain phrases. Most of the conventional routines entail insincerity (e.g. common positive responses to *How are you?*), as their use is conditioned by certain language-specific conventions which have to be followed if the interaction is to be successful (cf. Marcjanik, 1991). Their truth value is largely irrelevant (Saville-Troike, 1982). Routines constitute stereotyped links between what S actually says and the kind of communicative functions his utterances are to perform (Coulmas, 1981). Adopting the distinction between conversational and conventional implicatures proposed by Grice (1975) (see Subsection 1.3.4), one can say that many routines may be regarded as conventional ones (Coulmas, 1981) (e.g. *Could you open the window?* is a request). Routines are considered to be universal phenomena, but their verbal realizations, i.e. routine formulae which are highly stereotyped language-specific set phrases, are not (ibid.). Their meaning depends on shared beliefs and values of the speech community “coded into communicative patterns, and they cannot be interpreted apart from social and cultural context” (Saville-Troike, 1982:47). Understanding them “requires shared cultural knowledge because they are generally metaphoric in nature and must be interpreted at a non-literal level” (ibid.:45). Routine formulae are expressions that have pragmatic functions (sometimes more than one). The “effect” of their use is usually very subtle, and it is seldom identical in two different languages. Thus, this can often be the cause of cross-cultural misunderstandings (Fillmore, 1980; Varonis and Gass, 1985).

Most routine formulae are polite formulae. The linguistic behaviour of conversational routines, including greetings and farewells, thanks, apologies, small talk, etc., is “part of the linguistic repertoire of politeness” (Laver, 1981:290; cf. Held, 1992:149–150). When S does not employ routine formulae, which is the sign of his not possessing “*formulistic competence*”, he can be viewed “not only as lacking in politeness and sophistication but also as incompletely socialized” (Loveday, 1982:83).

Polite formulae realize certain politeness functions (Ozóg, 1990):

- the function of the address to H
- the function of the cultural beginning of a conversation – greetings
- the function of the cultural ending of a conversation – farewells
- the function of expressing gratitude
- the function of apology.

The phrases used to realize these functions are called *primary polite formulae*, because they are very important for successful linguistic communication, while less important ones, like the phrases used as compliments, congratulations, good wishes, toasts, and condolences, are called *secondary polite formulae* (Ozóg, 1990; cf. Marcjanik, 1991).

1.2.4. Grice's Cooperative Principle

Grice (1975) defines conversation as a cooperative activity, and he claims that interlocutors are expected to observe a general principle called the *Cooperative Principle* (CP): "Make your conversational contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (ibid.:45). The CP can be expressed by means of four basic maxims of conversation, underlying the efficient cooperative use of language.

The maxims are oriented to ordinary spoken discourse. Grice, like Searle, tried to solve the problem of how meaning in this kind of discourse differs from meaning in the truth-conditional sense. He wanted to explain "the difference between what is said and what is meant [...] 'What is meant' is the effect that the speaker intends to produce on the addressee by virtue of the addressee's recognition of his intention" (Leech and Thomas, 1990:179). S produces an effect by implying something different from what he actually says by means of violating, or *flouting* as Grice puts it, one of the maxims, e.g.:

2. A: *I am out of petrol.*

B: *There is a garage round the corner.* (Grice, 1975:51)

This kind of exploitation of the CP is basic to what Grice calls *Conversational Implicatures*, i.e. pragmatic implications that H can think about, assuming that S is adhering to the CP. Grice differentiates one more kind of implicature, namely *Conventional Implicatures*, which differ from the other in that they are conventionally associated with the meanings of certain words.

The major source of deviation from the rational efficiency postulated by the maxims is politeness, which is communicated by this deviation.

1.2.5. Sperber and Wilson's Theory of Relevance

Sperber and Wilson (1986) present a pragmatic theory which they call the Theory of Relevance. They propose replacing the CP and Grice's maxims by *the Principle of Relevance*. According to this principle, "Every act of ostensive communication communicates the presumption of its own optimal relevance" (Sperber and Wilson, 1986:158). The main difference between Sperber and Wilson's theory and that of Grice is that Grice differentiates between what is said *explicitly* and what is implicated. According to Sperber and Wilson, Grice does

not explain communication *explicite*, while their Relevance Principle is to explain the ostensive communication as a whole, *implicite* as well as *explicite*. The Relevance Principle is not a principle to be observed or not. It is a generalization referring to *the ostensive-inferential communication*, in which “The communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to communicator and audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make manifest or more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions” (ibid.:155).

Although Sperber and Wilson are aware that their theory leaves many questions unanswered, they maintain that the Relevance Theory explains how ostensive communication is possible, and how it may fail.

Although they propose the reduction of the Gricean maxims to one principle, Sperber and Wilson do not provide a theory which would be simpler and easier than Gricean theory (cf. Kalisz, 1993). However, their theory has attracted more and more proponents (e.g. Blackenmore, 1987).

1.3. Theories of politeness

Politeness is one of the central phenomena serving explanatory purposes in pragmatics (e.g. Fillmore, 1980; Leech, 1983; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). Therefore this phenomenon, although variously understood by different linguists, deserves close attention.

In Subsection 1.3.1. the author will try to define the notion of politeness. Subsections 1.3.2., 1.3.3., and 1.3.4. will present the theories of politeness formulated by Lakoff, Leech, and Brown and Levinson, respectively. Subsection 1.3.5. will deal with the problem of the universality of politeness.

1.3.1. Towards a definition of politeness

In the past, politeness was “inextricably linked to social class and socio-political power”; it “was a sign of good breeding and high status, but it did not necessarily correlate with consideration for, or deference towards, other individuals” (Watts, 1992:44; cf. Wardhaugh, 1992:277). Although this definition refers specifically to the English society in the eighteenth century, it can also be taken to refer to the Polish society of the same time (Dąbrowska, 1992).

In modern linguistics literature, politeness is understood as those forms of behaviour that have been developed in order to reduce friction in personal interaction. Leech (1983:105) defines it as a “positive form of seeking opportunities for comity”. According to Brown and Levinson (1990:1), politeness “presupposes [...] potential for aggression as it seeks to disarm it, and makes possible communication between potentially aggressive parties”.

What is common in the traditional and modern interpretations of politeness is that in both cases it is considered a social phenomenon (Watts et al., 1992:2), and although on the surface it appears “to fulfill altruistic goals, it is nevertheless a mask to conceal ego’s true frame of mind” (Watts, 1992:47).

One of the main concepts in the theory of politeness is the concept of *face*, related to the English folk expression *to lose face*, meaning “to be embarrassed” or “humiliated” (Brown and Levinson, 1990). In recent literature, however, its origins are seen in Chinese culture (Mao, 1994). Mao claims that the word *face* is a literal translation of the two Chinese words *miǎnzi* and *liàn* which originally appeared in the phrase *to save one’s face* used in the English community in China, and conveyed the meaning of “one’s credit, good name, reputation” (ibid.:454). In Polish culture there exist two expressions, *zachować twarz* (“to save face”) and *stracić twarz* (“to lose face”): the former means “to stick to one’s principles and beliefs in a difficult situation requiring assuming a certain position”; the latter, “to lose respect in the eyes of other people” (Szymczak, 1981: Vol. III, 558). For Goffman (1967:5) face is “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself” or “an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes”. To secure their self-image, people engage in what Goffman calls “face-work”, performing action “to make whatever [they are] doing consistent with face” (ibid.:12). Goffman differentiates two kinds of face-work: “the avoidance process”, avoiding potentially face-threatening acts, and “the corrective process”, performing various redressive acts (ibid.:15–23). While for Goffman face is a public property, Brown and Levinson (1990) see it as an image intrinsically belonging to the individual (Mao, 1994). It consists of two related aspects (Brown and Levinson, 1990:61):

- *negative face*: the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, and rights to non-distraction, i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition
- *positive face*: the positive consistent self-image or “personality” (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants.

Further on they redefine face in terms of basic wants (ibid.:62):

- *negative face*: the want of every “competent adult member” that his actions be unimpeded by others
- *positive face*: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.

Face is not only want; it is something that can be threatened, lost, or saved. It is a social norm and value everyone is afraid of losing (Kopytko, 1993).

One of the most important elements of polite behaviour is the proper use of address forms. Brown and Gilman (1975), the authors of the classic and most influential study of address forms and social relationships, claim that in most Indo-European languages there exist two kinds of pronouns:

- a familiar, or intimate pronoun, generically designated the T form (from the Latin pronoun *tu*)
- a polite, or formal pronoun, generically designated the V form (from the Latin pronoun *vos*).

Brown and Gilman propose that pronoun usage is governed by two semantics: that of *power* and that of *solidarity*. For them (ibid.:103) semantics means “covariation between the pronoun used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee”. Power semantics is non-reciprocal; “the superior says T and receives V” (ibid.:105). The recipient of V form may differ from the recipient of T form in physical strength, wealth, age, sex, or institutionalized role in the church, the state, the army or the family. Solidarity semantics is reciprocal; there is no power difference and S decides if he and his interlocutor are close. If so, both of them use T; if not, both of them use V.

Janney and Arndt (1992) support the claim of social character of politeness by describing it in functional interactional terms as “a dynamic interpersonal activity” (ibid.:22), which can be observed either from a social point of view (“*social politeness*”) or from an interpersonal point of view (“*tact*”). The function of the former is to provide a framework of standardized strategies for entering gracefully into, or backing out of, recurring social situations (ibid.) (e.g. initiating, maintaining, and terminating conversation), while tact is perceived as “strategic conflict avoidance, and can be measured in terms of degree of effort put into the avoidance of a conflict situation” (Leech, 1977:19).

Another approach to politeness is presented by Brown and Levinson (1990), who distinguish between “‘*positive politeness*’ (roughly, the expression of solidarity), ‘*negative politeness*’ (roughly, the expression of restraint) and ‘*off-record politeness*’ (roughly, the avoidance of unequivocal impositions)” (ibid.:2). The notion of tact proposed by Leech (1977) resembles negative politeness, which he describes in negative terms as “the degree to which the individual behaviour of a particular person (whether verbal or otherwise) exceeds the normal degree of tact required in a given situation” (ibid.:19).

Meier (1995) sees politeness as described in terms of doing what is socially acceptable, “judged relative to a particular context and a particular addressee’s expectations and concomitant interpretation” (ibid.:387). Politeness is thus part of utterance meaning rather than sentence meaning. What is polite and socially appropriate in one context may be considered impolite or overpolite in other contexts.

A completely different definition of politeness has been found by Tomiczek (1992:18) in one of the popular German handbooks of etiquette (E. Wickendorf, 1978. *Der gute Ton nach alter Schule*. Wien—München—Zürich—Innsbruck): “Politeness is like an inflated pillow, although there is nothing in it, it softens the fall.” As we can see, softening a fall or save of face seems to be the main aim of politeness, which itself is hardly possible to define.

Many sociolinguists have tried to define politeness by comparing it to other social phenomena. In this sense Watts (1992:69) tries to describe politeness as “a marked extension or enhancement of politic verbal behaviour”, a concept of which he describes as “socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in the state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals in a social group, whether open or closed, during the ongoing process of interaction” (ibid.:50). Werkhofer (1992) compares politeness to money. Like money, it is “a socially constituted medium” (ibid.:190) whose functions originally derive from an association with something else, namely values (e.g. social order and social identity) which together with the functions are changeable. During its history, politeness, like money, itself began to motivate and define courses of action.

It is worthwhile to consider one more aspect of the concept of politeness, namely the terms which are its etymological sources. Ehlich (1992) enumerates some of them: the German term *Höflichkeit* (referring to the locus of its genesis the *Hof* (“court”)), *urbanitas* (“urbanity”) (referring to the particular *urbs* (“city”), Rome, whose way of life and social demands determined the image of politeness), the French term *courtoisie*, and the English terms of French origin *courtesy* and *courtliness* (referring to the court’s way of life and its social demands which determined the canon of politeness in former times). Clues towards the adaptation of historical connections are also present in Polish, in which one can find such terms as: *kurtuazja* (“courtesy”), *rycerskość* (“chivalry”), and *galanteria* (“gallantry”). The latter two as well as their English equivalents are limited to the politeness expressed by a man to a woman. None of them are commonly used nowadays. The Polish word *grzeczność* (“politeness”) and the English word *politeness* are most common in everyday Polish and English usage, respectively. The English term *politeness* means “that which is polished” (Ehlich, 1992:78); the same semantic content may be found in Polish terms for *politeness*, *ogłada* (“good manners”) and *polor* (“good manners”) (cf. Dąbrowska, 1992a).

Fraser (1990) posits four main views on politeness present in linguistic literature, namely: the “social-norm” view, the “conversational-maxim” view, the “face-saving” view, and the “conversational-contract” view. The “social-norm” view, presented by Hill et al. (1986), claims that speaking politely is seen mainly as “good manners” (cf. Peisert, 1992). In the “conversational-maxim” view, represented by Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983), S has to comply with a set of maxims in pursuing his goals in speaking (cf. Marcjanik, 1992). In the

“face-saving” view, advanced by Brown and Levinson (1990), all acts are potentially threatening to S’s or H’s positive or negative face. The “conversational-contract” view, represented by Fraser himself (ibid.:232), posits that “[...] upon entering into a given conversation, each party brings an understanding of some initial set of rights and obligations that will determine [...] what the participants can expect from the other(s). During the course of time, or because of a change in the context, there is always the possibility for a renegotiation of the conversational contract”. According to Fraser (ibid.:233), politeness is “a state that one expects to exist in every conversation; participants note not that someone is being polite – this is the norm – but rather that the speaker is violating the CC (Conversational Contract)”. This reading of the concept of politeness is comparable to the concept of politic behaviour proposed by Watts (1992).

The understanding of the concept of politeness may differ from one linguist to another, from language to language, and between cultures, but what is shared by all of them is a strong belief in its universal presence (Ferguson, 1981; Brown and Levinson, 1990) (see also Subsection 1.3.5.).

The phenomena of politeness and its universality were, and still are, of great interest to some linguists. Some of them developed theories of politeness (Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1990) which will be presented in Subsections 1.3.2., 1.3.3. and 1.3.4., respectively.

1.3.2. Lakoff’s logic of politeness

Lakoff (1973) sees Grice’s maxims of the CP as rules of clarity. Inspired by his work, she formulated two *Rules of Pragmatic Competence*: 1. Be clear, 2. Be polite. The two rules are potentially in conflict. Which rule should be observed depends on the aim of the conversation. When communication is the main aim, then the clarity rule is observed. When S wants to form or maintain a friendly relationship with other interlocutors, then the politeness rule is observed. Thus, in formal situations (e.g. business conversations) Grice’s maxims will be followed, while in informal ones they may be flouted or observed only partly.

According to Lakoff (1977:88), to be polite one should comply with the rules of politeness which “are designed to get people through cooperative transactions with minimal amount of wasted effort, or friction”. Thus, she analysed the second rule of Pragmatic Competence in terms of the rules of politeness (ibid.:88):

1. *Formality*: Don’t impose/remain aloof.
2. *Hesitancy*: Allow the addressee his options.

3. *Equality* or *camaraderie*: Act as though you and the addressee were equal/make him feel good.

Every rule of politeness is applicable in different situations and depends on the relations between S and H. Rule 1 is applied when S wants to keep his distance from H; S neither asks about H's personal affairs nor tells H about his own. This rule is used in formal situations. Rule 2 is applicable in different contexts; it refers to certain strategies of linguistic behaviour. The form of politeness proposed by this rule is very often conventional. Following this rule S wants to give H a choice, but in fact H has no choice in a real situation. Rule 3 should be followed in friendly conversations, when one can freely use colloquial language. This rule tells S to show an interest in H's personal affairs and to compliment him.

Lakoff claims that when the rule of Equality is applied, it takes precedence over the other rules. According to her, the three rules of politeness are universal, but there may be different orders of precedence for them in different cultures.

1.3.3. Leech's theory of politeness

In his famous book *Principles of Pragmatics* (1983) Leech developed his own model of pragmatics built on the speech act theories of Austin and Searle and Grice's theory of conversational implicature, and enlarged it to include also politeness. Leech proposes an addition to Grice's CP (1975), his own *Politeness Principle* (PP), which is to maintain friendly relations and help to cooperate with interlocutors. Claiming that there are two kinds of politeness, negative and positive, Leech formulated the PP in two versions (ibid.:81; cf. Held, 1989):

- *The negative version*: Minimize (other things being equal) the expression of impolite beliefs.
- *The positive version*: Maximize (other things being equal) the expression of polite beliefs. Leech formulated also six maxims of the PP analogous to Grice's maxims. They are (ibid.:132):

1. Tact Maxim (in impositives and commissives)
 - a) Minimize cost to *other*
 - b) (Maximize benefit to *other*)
2. Generosity Maxim (in impositives and commissives)
 - a) Minimize benefit to *self*
 - b) (Maximize cost to *self*)
3. Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives)
 - a) Minimize dispraise of *other*
 - b) (Maximize praise of *other*)

4. Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives)
 - a) Minimize praise of *self*
 - b) (Maximize dispraise of *self*)
5. Agreement Maxim (in assertives)
 - a) Minimize disagreement between *self* and *other*
 - b) (Maximize agreement between *self* and *other*)
6. Sympathy Maxim (in assertives)
 - a) Minimize antipathy between *self* and *other*
 - b) (Maximize sympathy between *self* and *other*)

These maxims stress “an essential asymmetry in polite behaviour, in that whatever is a polite belief for the speaker tends to be an impolite belief for the hearer, and *vice versa*” (ibid.:169).

The degree of tact appropriate to a given speech situation can be measured on three scales (ibid.:123):

- *The Cost-Benefit Scale* on which is estimated the cost or benefit of the proposed action A to S or to H.
- *The Optionality Scale* on which illocutions are ordered according to the amount of choice which S allows to H.
- *The Indirectness Scale* on which, from S’s point of view, illocutions are ordered with respect to the length of the path (in terms of the means-ends analysis) connecting the illocutionary act to its illocutionary goal.

Also relevant to the concept of tact are the following scales (ibid.):

- *The Authority Scale* on which is estimated the relative right of S to impose wishes on H.
- *The Social Distance Scale* on which is estimated the degree of familiarity between S and H.

Leech claims that the CP and the PP have equal status and are complementary to each other. The PP can account for certain linguistic behaviour in which some maxims of CP are apparently flouted (e.g. indirect utterances violating the maxim of Quantity).

He also claims that his maxims are universal, but that their use depends on cultural, social, and linguistic factors.

1.3.4. Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness

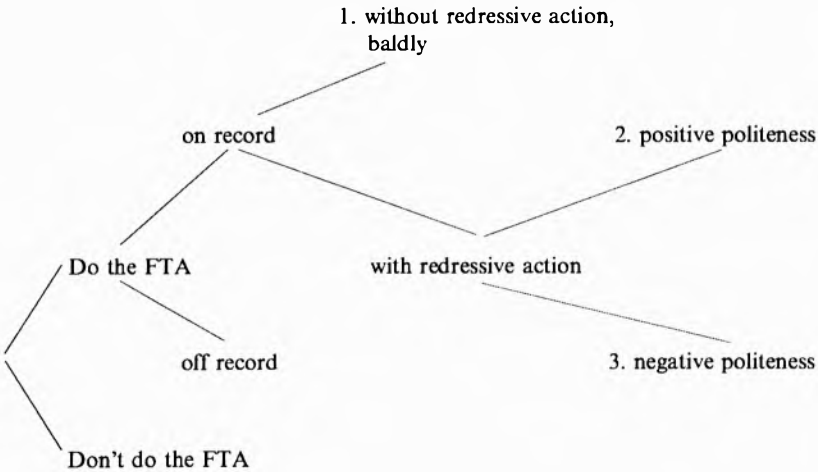
Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness is perhaps the most thorough treatment of the notion of politeness. They constructed a Model Person (MP), who is “a wilful fluent speaker of a natural language, endowed with two special

properties – *rationality* and *face*” (Brown and Levinson, 1990:58). By rationality they mean the availability to the MP of a mode of reasoning “from ends to the means that will achieve those ends” (ibid.:58).

Every adult member of a society has two kinds of face, negative and positive (see Subsection 1.3.1.).

Certain kinds of actions are intrinsically face-threatening. Such acts can threaten H’s negative face, i.e. indicate that S wants to impede H’s freedom of action (e.g. requests, suggestions). The other kind of actions are acts threatening H’s positive face wants, i.e. acts that indicate that S does not care about H’s feelings and wants, and does not approve of some aspects of H’s positive face (e.g. expressions of disapproval, mention of taboo topics, use of address terms and other status-marked indications in initial encounters in an offensive or embarrassing way). All these acts are called *face-threatening acts* (FTAs). They can threaten both H’s face, as in the case of requests, and S’s face, as in the case of promises, thanks, and excuses. Thus, every rational user of a natural language will try to avoid FTAs, or at least will employ certain strategies to minimize the threat (see Fig. 1).

FIG. 1. POSSIBLE STRATEGIES FOR DOING FTAs
(Brown and Levinson, 1990:69)



Doing an FTA “*off record*”, S resorts to using metaphor, irony, rhetorical questions, understatement, tautologies, and hints, “so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable” (ibid.:69). “*Off-record*” FTAs depend on implicature. According to Brown and Levinson (ibid.:213), “the basic way to do this is to invite conversational implicatures by violating, in some way, the Gricean Maxims of efficient communication”. “*On-record*” FTAs are done

when S's communicative intention is clear to other interlocutors. Doing an FTA "*baldly, without redress*", S does so in the most direct, unambiguous, concise way. "On-record" FTAs without redress are done in conformity with Grice's CP: they are transparent, sufficiently informative, and relevant. "*Redressive action*" is meant "to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA by doing it in such a way, or with such modifications or additions, that indicate clearly that no such face threat is intended or desired" (ibid.:69–70). There can be two kinds of redressive action: positive politeness and negative politeness. *Positive politeness* is oriented toward H's positive face. The potential face threat is minimized "by the assurance that in general S wants at least some of H's wants" (ibid.:70). *Negative politeness* is oriented toward redressing H's negative face. Here the potential face threat is minimized by the assurance that S recognizes and respects H's negative-face wants and will not impede him in his action.

Brown and Levinson (ibid.:74) analyse the weightiness of an FTA by means of three sociological variables:

- the "social distance" (D) of S and H (a symmetric relation)
- the relative "power" (P) of S and H (an asymmetric relation)
- the absolute ranking (R) of impositions in the particular culture.

S estimates the weightiness of the FTA in terms of P, D and R values on a continuous scale. They claim that these are factors existing "in many and perhaps all cultures" (ibid.:74). They postulate also (ibid.:244):

1. The universality of face, describable as two kinds of wants.
2. The potential universality of rational action devoted to satisfying others' face wants.
3. The universality of the mutual knowledge between interlocutors of (1) and (2).

1.3.5. Universality of politeness

Can the notion of politeness be considered universal? Does the phrase "be polite" mean the same for a Pole and for a native speaker of English? The notion of politeness is well-known in every culture, but the practical realization of the phrase "be polite" differs from one culture to another. And "what is at issue is not just different cultural values. [...] The crucial fact is that different pragmatic norms reflect different hierarchies of values characteristic of different cultures" (Wierzbicka, 1991:61). These differences are also reflected in language. "The fact that two speakers whose sentences are quite grammatical can differ radically in their interpretation of each other's verbal strategies indicates that conversational management does rest on linguistic knowledge" (Gumperz, 1985:185–186). Let us consider the example given by Wierzbicka (1991:60):

3. *Please! Sit! Sit!*

This was uttered by a Pole who wanted to sound very polite. In English the use of an imperative almost precludes the possibility of being polite (except for imperatives expressing good wishes, e.g. *Have a good time*, or *Enjoy yourselves!*), while in Polish the imperative is a widely used form of request even in very polite conversations. S uttering a sentence like (3) sounds awkward. Why is this so? In terms of grammar, it is correct. Gumperz (1985) argues that we cannot draw a distinction between cultural and social knowledge and linguistic signalling processes.

In the last two decades, with the growing popularity of pragmatics, there have been some attempts to create a universal model of conversation (Grice, 1975) (see Subsection 1.2.4.), to formulate universal rules of politeness (Searle, 1979; Lakoff, 1973; Leech, 1983) (see Subsections 1.2.1., 1.3.2., 1.3.3.), and to find “universals of politeness” (Brown and Levinson, 1990) (see Subsection 1.3.4.). Some of them are not entirely successful, as the problem of universality of politeness is very complex; politeness must be considered from the cultural, social, and linguistic points of view. For example, not all conversational maxims formulated by Grice (1975) are universals (Varonis and Gass, 1985). Keenan (1977, after Varonis and Gass, 1985) showed that in at least one culture, that of Madagascar, the CP does not hold. Searle (1979:6) claims that “[...] ordinary conversational requirements of politeness normally make it awkward to issue flat imperatives or explicit performatives”. These requirements are not universal either; in Polish it is not awkward to do so (Wierzbicka, 1991; cf. Blum-Kulka, 1983:38).

Brown and Levinson (1990) also claim the universality of indirectness. This and other claims for universality made by them have been widely criticized by other sociolinguists (Preston, 1989:164). Their concept of positive and negative face is said to have “a strong anglocentric bias” (Wierzbicka, 1991:67; cf. Kasper, 1990; Reynolds, 1995). The British, with their concern for territorial rights and freedoms, have an orientation towards negative politeness (Reynolds, 1995), while Poles, with their concern for being appreciated, have an orientation towards positive politeness (Wierzbicka, 1985). For Meier (1995) identifying cultures in terms of negative and positive orientation “is problematic”. “Not only is there the problem of criteria to consider but also the dependence of the characterizations on the specific cultures being compared and on the particular communicative act (e.g., interactional or transactional, more conventionalized or less conventionalized) in context. The use of such labels is not only unhelpful but risks perpetuating national stereotypes and ‘linguacentricity’” (ibid.:386; Kalisz, 1993).

Leech (1983) argues that the PP is universal, while realization of his maxims may differ from one society to another. He proposes scales designed to measure

“the degree of tact appropriate to a given speech situation” (Leech, 1983:123). The sociological variables D, P and R proposed by Brown and Levinson (1990) play a similar role. They claim that these are factors existing “in many and perhaps all cultures” (ibid.:74).

Some conversational maxims (e.g. Approbation maxim, Modesty maxim, and Harmony maxim) claimed by Leech (1983) to be universal are also criticized (Wierzbicka, 1991:68).

What is really universal, panhuman, and pancultural is “the concept of mutual support in an interaction, which in itself facilitates that interaction” (House, 1985:8). This concept can be found both in the notion of tact proposed by Leech (1977) and in the H-Support Maxim formulated by Edmondson (1981).

The linguistic expression of politeness is another language universal (Verschueren, 1981; Saville-Troike, 1982; Watts, 1992). But it must be stressed that it is only the occurrence of routine polite formulae that is universal, while their actual forms are language-specific (Verschueren, 1981). Opening and closing routines especially seem to be universal (Ferguson, 1981). Ferguson (1981) also claims that they are related to the greeting behaviour of many animals.

Having in mind the above-mentioned universals, House (1985:11–12) states where cultural difference can be found:

- *At the formal level*, communicative acts will clearly be realized *via* different tokens.
- *The collocational and sequential possibilities* of different communicative acts will vary across speech communities.
- The degrees and ways in which *verbal and non-verbal means* of realizing different universal communicative acts are related are *not a constant*.
- The degree and manner of *routinization* operating for the performance of different communicative acts are clearly cultural variables, and so is the range of existing conventional formulae.
- Despite the fact that the ways the *social dimensions of power* and *social distance* conventionally operate in language communities are *probably similar or equivalent*, the social structures of a particular community will be unique to that community (i.e. members of different cultures select tokens expressing different degrees of politeness).

The universality of politeness across languages and cultures is one of the most important issues in the cross-cultural investigation of different speech acts. However, despite the great interest in the cultural variability of the realization of some speech acts, the problem of universality is still debated. Up to now, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic studies have focused on two to eight languages. If claims to the universality of politeness are to be made valid, they should be based on many more, diverse languages (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989).

2. Methodology

The subject of the present study is the verbal realization of polite speech acts, i.e. routine polite formulae. Polite speech acts can be divided into *direct* and *indirect*. Direct ones are realized by formulae containing a performative verb, while indirect ones are realized by formulae which do not contain a performative verb in the surface structure (Ozóg, 1990).

The ability to use routine polite formulae, which are to be compared cross-culturally, forms an important part of communicative competence, necessary for successful communication between interlocutors (see Section 2.1.).

Sections 2.2. and 2.3. will present the main theoretical assumptions of the model within which the verbal realization of polite speech acts is examined.

Section 2.4. will present the methods used to obtain linguistic data.

2.1. Communicative competence

Communicative competence is regarded as “a kind of mixer” performing “the function of balancing available linguistic forms chosen by drawing on the linguistic competence of the user, against available social functions housed in some kind of social competence” (Bell, 1976:210–211). Similarly, communicative competence, or *sociolinguistic competence* (a narrower term), is understood by Hymes (1972, 1977), who introduced the term, as a knowledge of abstract rules for understanding and producing the referential and social meaning of language. He stresses the importance of “*the rules of speaking*”, the patterns of sociolinguistic behaviour (e.g. knowing how to open and close a conversation,

and knowing which address forms should be used). Sajavaara (1981) also stresses the coexistence of two kinds of knowledge in communicative competence, namely grammatical competence and pragmatics, which are elements of a broader concept of *sociocultural competence* (cf. Chomsky, 1980; Saville-Troike, 1982; Gumperz, 1985). Sajavaara's pragmatics can be compared to Hymes' rules of speaking. Edmondson (1981) treats communicative competence as a "theoretical construct" (ibid.:7) which may be described in conventions expressing what one can do in a conversation. He opposes it to *social competence*, reflected in the use to which S puts his communicative competence in a conversation "to achieve goals without endangering face" (ibid.:7), i.e. without violating the norms stating what is and what is not socially acceptable behaviour.

The understanding of *pragmatic competence* proposed by Oleksy (1980) is reminiscent, as he puts it, of Edmondson's social competence. Oleksy defines it as "the ability of an individual to use SA in the given communicative context *with a particular strategy* in order to obtain maximum communicative and social goals" (ibid.:356; *conversational competence* in Richards and Sukwiat, 1983; *sociolinguistic competence* in Canale, 1993). Fillmore (1980) sees it as the ability to make judgements on questions of the following type: "In such-and-such a setting, what could a speaker say which would produce such-and-such an effect?" (ibid.:126). Part of pragmatic competence is also *formulistic competence*, the ability to use routine polite formulae (Loveday, 1982; see Subsection 1.2.3).

Besides the language user's knowledge of linguistic rules and the nature of communicative acts, communicative competence includes also the abilities "to use these underlying types of knowledge appropriately in reception and production in order to achieve communicative goals" (Kasper, 1989:189; cf. Oleksy's definition). Kasper (ibid.) refers to these abilities as *interactive procedures*. They include operations serving to:

- open and close discourse
- distribute turns at talk
- ensure discourse coherence and cohesion
- repair trouble sources
- realize speech acts in socially appropriate ways (ibid.:190).

These areas of knowledge and skill are included in *discourse competence* concerning mastery of how to combine forms and meanings to achieve a unified text (both spoken and written) in different genres (Scarcella et al., 1990; Canale, 1993), and *strategic competence* concerning mastery of verbal and non-verbal communication strategies (Canale, 1993; cf. Yule and Tarone, 1990).

Communicative competence, and especially its constituent part, pragmatic competence, is necessary for successful communication between interlocutors, and is therefore something that native speakers and those speakers that use a particular language as L2 should try to attain. However, they do not always succeed. A person who does not have a good command of pragmatic knowledge

in a particular language is often evaluated as lacking “social charm” and tact (Edmondson, 1981).

2.2. Contrastive analysis

The model within which verbal realization of polite speech acts is examined is provided by *contrastive analysis* (CA). The crucial notion in identifying the kinds of CA is the notion of *equivalence*, “or the relation which provides reasons why things are chosen for comparison, since only equivalent elements across languages are at all comparable” (Krzyszowski, 1989:59). Krzyszowski (ibid.) divides *contrastive studies* (CS) into text bound and systematic.

Text bound CS involve comparisons of texts in two or more languages and do not go beyond such texts to generalize about the grammars that generate those texts (ibid.) The restricted class of texts (e.g. written in the same register, dealing with the same topic, or representing the same literary genre) may be compared statistically. Two linguistic elements are *statistically equivalent* “if they occur as the most frequent translations of each other and/or if, in comparison with other synonymous constructions, they have maximally similar frequency of occurrence in the relevant texts” (ibid.:63). Another kind of equivalence obtaining between two texts is *translation equivalence*. Translations need not be “correct” (in the relation of *semanto-syntactic equivalence*) or “acceptable” (in the relation of various pragmatic considerations).

Systematic CS involve comparisons of constructions, systems and rules at syntactic, lexical and phonological levels. Syntactic CS are based on semanto-syntactic equivalence. Both lexical and phonological CS are mainly paradigmatic. In this kind of CS Krzyszowski introduces the concept of *system equivalence* which can be made explicit only through the examination of constructions whose elements are semanto-syntactically equivalent (ibid.).

In the case of texts compared in respect of their styles and registers, semanto-syntactic equivalence is not required. Stylistic or sociolinguistic CS are based on *pragmatic equivalence*, which is a relation that holds between two texts “selected in such a way that they evoke maximally similar cognitive reactions in the users of those texts” (Krzyszowski, 1989:65). Texts which are pragmatically equivalent actually correspond to optimum translations.

In his typology of CS Krzyszowski (1989, 1990) introduces also the concept of *tertium comparationis* (TC), “a common platform of reference” (1989:60) without the establishment of which no comparison is possible. Depending on the

platform of reference adopted, on various features with respect to which two phenomena are compared, the same phenomena turn out to be either similar or different. Krzeszowski uses the term TC interchangeably with the term equivalence. Thus, the type of CS depends both on the TC adopted and on the kind of equivalence involved (cf. Janicki, 1990).

2.3. Contrastive pragmatics

In the early seventies a new *communicative approach* to language teaching came into existence, emphasizing the pragmatic dimension of language use. The limitation of CS to the three levels of analysis turned out to be untenable. As various linguists claimed, such a limited approach to language overlooked the most important thing, the communicative function of language (cf. Hymes, 1972), and failed to deal with problems of the sociolinguistic, interactive and discursive aspects of language use. CA without a pragmatic dimension turned out to be inadequate. Although pragmatics was, and still is, not a well-defined area, pragmatic CS started slowly to develop. They took their inspiration mainly from Speech Act Theories, but also from Discourse Analysis. Starting in the late seventies there was a flood of publications analysing differences in the nature and sequencing of speech acts, and differences in the ways in which the roles of the participants, turns and topics are selected and expressed (e.g. Richards and Sukwiwat (1983); House (1985)). Some linguists tried to develop contrastive sociolinguistic models (e.g. Janicki (1979)); others tried to establish a sociological framework for considering bilingualism and the concept of communicative competence (e.g. Loveday (1982)). But the scholars that have contributed most to the development of *contrastive pragmatics* (cp) are Fillmore (1980), Oleksy (1980) and Riley (1981).

Defining pragmatics, Fillmore (1980) draws a distinction between “large facts” and “small facts”. The “large facts” include “politeness systems, patterns of indirectness, repertoires of registral differences, patterns in the rhetorical organization of discourse, the special devices languages use for constructing narrative texts” (ibid.:127). The “small facts” Fillmore defines as “things that need to be learned one at a time” (ibid.:127). All of them may be studied contrastively.

“Small facts” which are of special interest to Fillmore include linguistic elements at various levels of analysis which may be described with reference to their use. One of Fillmore’s examples involve formulaic expressions which he considers “The most striking kind of small issue in pragmatics” (ibid.:128), as patterns and pragmatic functions of such expressions differ across languages.

The model of cp proposed by Fillmore concentrates mainly on the appropriateness of particular linguistic forms in particular situations.

The model proposed by Oleksy (1980) is based on the concept of the speech act. To perform a contrastive analysis of pragmatically equivalent forms, he adopts a definition of *pragmatic equivalence*: “A linguistic expression X1L1 is pragmatically equivalent to a linguistic expression X2L2 if both X1 and X2 can be used to perform the same SA in L1 and L2” (ibid.:360; cf. Janicki, 1990; Krzeszowski, 1990). Oleksy also claims that linguistic expressions across languages which exhibit pragmatic equivalence do not have to be equivalent formally (Riley, 1980; Fillmore, 1980; Janicki, 1990; Krzeszowski, 1990).

A pragmatic CA of SA, according to Oleksy, should describe how an equivalent SA functions in the cultures of L1 and L2 speakers. It should incorporate the following criteria characterizing SAs:

- strategies for the performance of SA
- sociocultural context in which SA typically occurs
- role relationship holding between S and H
- other pragmatic factors such as politeness, mitigation and level of directness.

Riley (1981), like Oleksy, regards the communicative act, and particularly one of its realizations – the speech act – as the main concern of pragmatic linguistics. In Riley’s opinion, one cannot provide an adequate account of meaning without considering “such vital questions as who is speaking to who? When? Where? What is the nature of their relationship? Of the circumstances? What activity are they involved in? What is its purpose and that of the communication?” (ibid.:123).

Riley’s contrastive pragmalinguistics, like Oleksy’s pragmatic CA, rests on the theory of illocution. He claims that the illocutionary values of communicative acts (*functions*) reflect the use S wishes to put it to, but have no direct link with their formal realization. He describes discourse as a sequence of illocutionary acts and interactive acts (opening, reply, closing) parallel to formal structures called realization. The aim of contrastive pragmalinguistics, as proposed by Riley, is characterizing the discourse structure of different languages in terms of social roles, participant states, formality and situation.

One more model of cp is worth mentioning, namely that of Kalisz (1993), for whom the intended perlocutionary effect, oriented towards the change of the addressee’s psychic world, is the criterion of pragmatic equivalence. Another phenomenon, according to Kalisz, helping to determine pragmatic equivalence is implicature: “Two utterances in L1 and L2 (X1L1 and X2L2) are (semanto-) pragmatically equivalent, if and only if they represent maximally similar implicatures” (ibid.:153). Besides, Kalisz claims that pragmatic equivalence and equivalence in general are gradable.

Although all these theories of cp do not follow a common contrastive

procedure and deal with different fields, they have something in common – they extend the scope of traditional CS which neglected the importance of the communicative settings.

In the eighties cp started to flourish, and more and more specialists in the field of linguistics undertook the laborious task of explaining the phenomena involved in the pragmatic aspects of communication (e.g. Coulmas (1981); Wolfson (1983); Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984); House (1985); Davies (1987); Braun (1988); Blum-Kulka et al. (1989); Oleksy (1989); Wierzbicka (1991)).

Cp, identifying cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences and similarities, is purely descriptive and has no predictive power for actual communicative practices in cross-cultural encounters (Kasper and Blum-Kulka, 1993). However, it plays an explanatory role in the studies of IL pragmatics, which derived its theoretical and empirical foundation mainly from cp.

The main theoretical assumptions of the models of contrastive pragmatics, as presented, serve as the principles of the method applied to the contrastive analysis of the verbal realization of polite speech acts.

2.4. Methods for obtaining linguistic data

The choice of methods for obtaining linguistic data should be adjusted to the aims of the study, but the actual possibility of their use also has to be taken into consideration. The study of spoken discourse, especially that of formulaic expressions, involves great problems. Ideally, all data should come from spontaneous, natural conversations. “Our goal is then to observe the way that people use language when they are not being observed” (The Observer’s Paradox) (Labov, 1972:209).

However, the character of the present study did not allow for the use of this method only. Thus, the data were obtained from different sources: observation, introspection, elicitation tests, and written sources.

Observation is one of the best methods of gathering data for sociolinguistic research, especially with an ethnographic approach. The method is very effective in gaining insights into speech behaviour. It has been widely used by many researchers (Brown and Ford, 1975; Borkin and Reinhart, 1978; Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993; Aston, 1995). Observation can be carried out in two ways: either by making tape recordings with a hidden microphone, or by taking notes and describing the situations in which the utterances were made.

The data used in the present study were gathered during social encounters and from films and television. The author took notes and described situations in which polite formulae were used. The data base formed in this way was used later in the contrastive pragmatic analysis of polite formulae in Polish and English, and in formulating the discourse completion test (for the fragments of the data base see Appendix I).

Introspection is a procedure in which the subjects are asked to reflect on the kinds of strategies they use while carrying out a task, on what they say in certain situations (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991). It was used, for example by Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (1989). This procedure was used as a preparatory work for this study. Both native speakers of Polish and native speakers of English (mostly middle class/academic background) were asked to reflect on what they would say in certain situations or how they would respond to certain verbal routines.

As the polite speech acts which are the subject of this study are to be compared cross-culturally, elicited data has both methodological and theoretical advantages. "The virtue of authenticity in naturally occurring speech must be weighted against its reflection of speakers' sociolinguistic adaptations to very specific situations" (Hill et al., 1986:353). Using written elicitation techniques enables the researcher "to obtain more stereotyped responses" (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:13). That is exactly what is needed for the cross-cultural analysis of polite speech acts. The instrument used was a common discourse completion test (e.g. Blum-Kulka, 1982; Beebe and Takahashi, 1989; Bergman and Kasper, 1993).

Tests are very helpful in creating a theoretical model of language, although they do not show how language functions in practice. The results of tests, although they contain many pieces of important information and are representative of the repertoire of polite formulae, often show rather what informants believe to be the most appropriate forms and not what is actually used in real conversations. Informants often idealize the use of polite formulae and their choices rather suggest how they should be used. However, tests are a necessary step in this kind of cross-cultural study to establish the repertoire of polite formulae used in Polish and English.

Observation makes up for this insufficiency, because it records the language as it is used in real situations. Although it cannot account for a detailed analysis of the use of polite formulae, it can be treated as a complementary method to be used together with discourse completion tests.

In the present study the test which was administered (see Appendix II) consisted of 63 short incomplete dialogues in various situations. All of them were preceded by a description of a particular situation (i.e. the setting, the distance between the interlocutors, and their social status). The informants were asked to complete the dialogues, which were fashioned in such a way that they were

required to use polite formulae (and responses to them). The test differed from the standard discourse completion test in that the responses to polite formulae were elicited from the informants rather than being provided as part of the test items. The situations described in the test were everyday situations familiar to members of both Polish and English cultures. The test was presented to two groups of informants:

- Group 1 – 30 native speakers of Polish (all of them students of English at the University of Silesia)
- Group 2 – 30 native speakers of English (all of them students at the University of Birmingham).

In order to describe adequately the actual use of polite formulae it is best to use methods which rely on direct access to the objects under study. However, it can be also worthwhile to get data indirectly – through the analysis of written sources. And in this study, data were also obtained from literary texts and sociolinguistic literature.

The variety of sources allowed the author to have a cross-checking perspective on the analysed material.

3. A contrastive analysis of some polite formulae in Polish and English

As has already been said, the concept of politeness is universal; it exists in every culture. The occurrence of routine polite formulae is also universal, but their actual forms differ from language to language.

When describing and comparing polite formulae, it is useful to distinguish three levels of analysis (Davies, 1987):

- the level of the semantic content of the formulae
- the level of the illocutionary force potential of the formulae
- the level of the rules and conventions governing the situations in which the formulae can be used.

Analysing the formulae on these three levels will help to determine the degree of equivalence between them.

The polite formulae to be analysed are divided into two groups:

- primary polite formulae, i.e. words of address, greetings and farewells, thanks, and apologies (Section 3.1.).
- secondary polite formulae, i.e. compliments, congratulations, good wishes, toasts, and condolences (Section 3.2.).

3.1. Primary polite formulae

3.1.1. Words of address

Address, as a basic concept of address theory, “denotes a speaker’s linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s)” (Braun, 1988:7). When we address someone we use words and phrases by means of which we refer to his/her social status and express our attitude towards him/her (*distance, respect or lack of distance, and deference or familiarity*), and consider the situation we are in (cf. Wierzbicka, 1992). Other relevant features in address theory are *reciprocity* and *symmetry*. “Address is reciprocal when two speakers exchange the same form of address (or equivalent ones). [...] Correspondingly, address is nonreciprocal when the forms used by the two speakers in a dyad are different (or non-equivalent). [...] All forms of address in a given dyad being used reciprocally, the address relationship is symmetrical. When different forms are used, the address relationship is asymmetrical” (Braun, 1988:13).

Taking all these abstract features into consideration, we can try to compare the Polish and English address systems. First, let us consider the difference between the commonly used titles (T) *pan/pani* (“Mr”/“Mrs”) and *Mr/Mrs, Ms*. Superficially they seem similar, but *pan/pani* have a wider range of use and correspond also to the English words *lord/lady, master/mistress* and *sir/madam* (Wierzbicka, 1992:317). This double meaning of *pan/pani* is conditioned historically; in the past, they were used only in speaking to the members of nobility. The forms *pan/pani* can appear on their own (without surnames) (4.a,b,c) and they can be combined with first names (FN) (4.d), professional titles (4.e), and surnames (SN) (4.f).

4.

- a) *Proszę pana/pani, panią.* (“Please sir/ma’am.”)
- b) A: *Przepraszam pana, ma pan może odstąpić bilet?*
 (“Excuse me, sir, do you (sir) have a ticket to spare?”)
B: *Zaraz zobaczymy.* (“We’ll see.”) (Ozóg, 1990:65)
- c) *Dzień dobry panu/pani.* (“Good morning sir/ma’am.”)
- d) *Dzień dobry, pani Moniko.* (“Good morning Mrs/Ms Monika.”)
- e) *Panie magistrze/pani magister.* (“Mr/Mrs, Ms Master (of Arts).”)
- f) *Dzień dobry, panie Kowalski.* (“Good morning Mr Kowalski.”)

The form presented in 4.a is the most neutral form of address. It can be replaced by the form *przepraszam pana/panią* (“excuse me, sir/ma’am”), but then it is both a way of addressing H and a form of apology for interruption (4.b) (Ożóg, 1990).

In Polish T + SN occurs in two kinds of contexts:

- in formal situations (e.g. in the office, at university) it stresses the distance between interlocutors, and helps to specify the addressee
- in informal situations it is more intimate than *proszę pana/proszę pani* (in the same kind of situation we can find SN only) (e.g. *pani Walusiowa/Walusiowa*) (Ożóg, 1990).

In the second context, it is used mainly by people of a low social status, and in those regions of Poland which were formerly under the influence of German culture (Miodek, 1980), but in standard Polish it is considered impolite (Zaręba, 1981). Pisarkowa (1979) claims that T + SN is not used in Polish. In English the forms *Mr/Mrs, Ms* can be combined only with SNs (5).

5. *Good morning Mr/Mrs Brown.*

6. *Good morning sir/ma’am or madam.*

Example 4 can be translated into English correctly by another pair of address forms (6) (Wierzbicka, 1992).

The address form T (*sir, madam, ma’am, miss*) “is probably a degree less intimate and a degree more deferential than TLN” (Brown and Ford, 1975:134). It may be used reciprocally where acquaintance is so slight that SN is not known or non-reciprocally by a person of lower status to a person of higher status (*ibid.*). When no address form is available in English, e.g. when we do not know H’s SN or FN, it is better to resort to “the tactics of avoidance”, because both incomplete forms and the address form T, used in some contexts, would sound incorrect. The latter is very often used only to elderly people (Brown and Ford, 1975; Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Braun, 1988; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1993). The form *sir* in English (especially in American English) is used mainly if S “is much younger and in the army or was educated in certain old-fashioned institutions” (Brown and Levinson, 1990:183). It is used also to male customers in a shop. In British English schoolchildren use it to address male teachers. In general, it is only appropriate where S is performing an FTA (7), and with greetings (6), hails, or attention-gainers (*ibid.*). Besides, there is also the non-standard form *mister* (8).

7. A: *Did you move my luggage?*

B: *Yes, sir, I thought perhaps you wouldn’t mind and ...*
(*ibid.*:182)

8. *What’s the time, mister?*

“The form *ma’am* is most commonly heard from young men to mature women” (Brown and Ford, 1975). Young women are addressed as *ma’am* if well dressed; otherwise, *miss* (12) (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992). In the southern United States *ma’am* occurs in different contexts. It functions as a communication control signal – equivalent to “I beg your pardon?” or “Pardon?”, indicating that S did not understand or hear what his interlocutor said. The phrase *yes, ma’am* is used as a response to the expression *thank you*. The form *ma’am* is also used to acquaintances and intimates who have the same or lower status (Wolfson, 1993).

In Polish, the rules governing the use of the address form T (*pan, pani*) are much simpler. The form *proszę pani/pana* (“please sir/ma’am”) is commonly used whenever the use of FN or *ty* (“you” : sg) would be considered improper. It is used when S wants to stress the distance between interlocutors, or when H is a stranger.

What the above-mentioned address forms have in common is the presence of the features of respect and distance, and deference in the case of *sir*.

The Polish term *panna* (“miss”) (referring to an unmarried woman or to a girl) can be combined with FNs or attributive forms and possessive pronouns (Tomiczek, 1983; cf. Zaręba, 1981):

9. *Moja/Droga Panno, tak nie wypada.*
 (“My/Dear Miss, it is not suitable (for you).”)

10. *Dzień dobry, Panno Zosiu.*
 (“Good morning Miss Sophie.”)

In recent years, there has been a tendency in Polish to avoid the form *panna*, as stressing the unmarried status of a woman, in favour of the general form *pani*, having no connotations of the woman’s marital status, or in favour of avoiding the form completely, leaving only FN (especially when H is young or both interlocutors are young). In English, the title *miss* (referring to an unmarried woman and to a girl) appears usually with SN. But in certain situations it can be used on its own or with FN (Wierzbicka, 1992; Gramley and Pätzold, 1992). The title *miss* should not be confused with the respectful address form *miss* used by British pupils to a female teacher (11) who can also be addressed as *missis* or *missus* (while a male teacher is often addressed as *mister* or *sir*). The forms *miss*, *missis*, *missus*, and *mister* are often used by people of low social status (12).

11. *Can we go now, miss?*

12. *Excuse me, miss, is that your bag?*

To show familiarity or lack of distance we use FNs. In Polish, the FN is used:

- reciprocally by young people
- reciprocally by good friends
- nonreciprocally, in business, by the superior (cf. Pisarkowa, 1979) (e.g. *Basiu, proszę przepisać ten list.* (“Barbara (Dim), type this letter, please.”))
- nonreciprocally, to very young people
- nonreciprocally, by older generation receiving kinship titles (KT).

The form T + FN often functions in Polish as an intermediate form used before interlocutors change to FNs (cf. Zaręba, 1981; Lubecka, 1993). It is mainly used by members of the intelligentsia (Miodek, 1980).

The move from the reciprocal *pan/pani* to reciprocal FN takes quite a long time, as Poles are extremely status-conscious. Their everyday conversations sound much more formal and courteous than those in English (Wierzbicka, 1991).

In English, the occurrence of FN is much more common than in Polish and the use of FN implies much less familiarity and intimacy (cf. Ervin-Tripp, 1974:226, Fig. 1). In American English adults are usually introduced with T + SN, but they rapidly switch to FNs, especially when they are young and of the same sex. Age difference is not significant, until it is almost a generation. Native speakers of English (especially Americans) place greater importance on achieved status than on age “but there is an overriding attempt to effect informality or intimacy in many relationships” (Hook, 1984:186; Wolfson, 1993). In informal situations only FNs are used. But no one should be misled by this, because in American English the use of FN does not need to indicate familiarity and intimacy (Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Gramley and Pätzold, 1992; cf. Wierzbicka, 1991:105–107).

If somebody wants to show that he is intimate with H, he uses nicknames (e.g. *Bunny*) or *multiple naming* (MN), “a practice in which people move freely from one form to another” (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992:290), whether FNs, familiar names (e.g. *Steve, Liz*), nicknames or SNs (e.g. *Smith*). MN represents a greater degree of intimacy than FN (Brown and Ford, 1975). A person may be addressed by his SN, when his FN is polysyllabic and has no familiar abbreviation. When SN is not the usual address form, “it represents a degree of intimacy greater than TLN but less than FN” (Brown and Ford, 1975:134). The British address system differs from the American address system in that the move from reciprocal T + SN to reciprocal FN proceeds usually at a slower pace (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992). Both in Polish and in English “the gate to linguistic intimacy is kept by the person of higher status” (Brown and Ford, 1975:139).

In formal situations, it is often necessary to use titles denoting professional status. In Polish they are used together with the form *pan/pani* (13). In less formal professional contacts men are often addressed with the forms *doktor* (“doctor”), *dyrektor* (“manager”), *redaktor* (“editor”), or *kierownik* (“manager”); when

a woman is addressed, the form *pani* is never omitted before the professional title. Poles like to use titles and use them very often (Pisarkowa, 1979; Zaręba, 1981).

13.

- a) *Dzień dobry, Panie Profesorze/Pani Profesor.*
("Good morning, Mr/Mrs Professor.")
- b) *Proszę bardzo, Panie Pośle/Pani Posel.*
("Here you are, Mr/Mrs Representative.")
- c) *Już nie boli, Panie Doktorze/Pani Doktor.*
("It doesn't hurt any more, Mr/Mrs Doctor.")

In English professional titles are combined with SNs:

14.

- a) *Good morning, Professor Smith.*
- b) *Thank you, Father (Brown).*
- c) *It does not hurt any more, Doctor (Jones).* (a physician)
- d) *How nice to see you, Doctor Johnson.* (a physician or Ph.D., Ed.D.)

Only a physician, dentist, or judge may be addressed by the title alone (Ervin-Tripp, 1974). A physician may be also called *Doc* (ibid.). A more formal equivalent of *Judge* is *Your Honour* (Gramley and Pätzold, 1992); in Polish there are also two forms, *Panie Sędzio* ("Mr Judge") and *Wysoki Sądzie*. The president of a country is addressed in Polish *Panie Prezydencie*, and identically in English – *Mr President*.

Both in Polish and in English there are *honorific titles* reserved only for the members of royal family, nobility and church dignitaries. They are usually accompanied by the possessive pronouns *wasza* ("your": pl) and *your/my*, respectively (15). Although still in use, most of them can be heard only in very formal situations, except for (*jaśnie*) *wielmożny/a pan/pani*, which is now used only in letters.

15. Polish

- | | | |
|--|------------|---|
| a) <i>Wasza Świątobliwość</i> | – (Pope) – | English
<i>Your Holiness</i> |
| b) <i>Wasza Królewska Mość</i> | – (King) – | <i>Your Majesty</i> |
| c) <i>Wasza Wysokość</i>
(Royal family, duke) | | <i>Your (Royal) Highness</i>
(Prince)
<i>Your Grace</i>
(Duke, archbishop) |
| d) <i>Wasza Eminencja</i>
(Church dignitaries,
mainly cardinals) | | <i>Your Eminence</i>
(Cardinal) |

e) <i>Wasza Ekscelencja</i> (People of high rank in the state or the church, ambassadors)	<i>Your Excellency</i>
f) (<i>Jaśnie</i>) (<i>Wielmożny</i>) <i>Pan</i> (<i>Jaśnie</i>) (<i>Wielmożna</i>) <i>Pani</i> (People of high rank in the society)	<i>Your Lordship/My Lord</i> (Bishop, earl, baron) <i>Your Ladyship/Madam</i> (Countess, baroness)

All Polish titles can appear in both the vocative (13) and the nominative case (e.g. *Czy Pan Profesor napije się kawy?* (“Will (you) Mr Professor have a cup of coffee?”)), where they function as the subject of the sentence uttered, followed by the 3 sg verb. In English only honorific titles have this ability (e.g. *Is Your Grace very tired?*) (Lubecka, 1993).

In Polish religious titles we differentiate between *ksiądz* (“priest”) and *ojciec* (e.g. “(the Jesuit or Capuchin) father”). The former usually appears alone, the latter may be followed by the FN. *Brat* (“brother”) and *siostra* (“sister”) can be followed by FNs, or appear alone. In English, the forms *brother* and *sister* are followed by FNs, and the form *father* is combined with the SN which may be omitted.

English kinship terms are used either as names or their diminutives (e.g. *Granny, Dad*), or as titles, and then they can combine with FNs or SNs (e.g. *Aunt Jane, Gramma Brown, Uncle John*) (Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Gramley and Pätzold, 1992). These forms are generally used by younger relatives towards older ones, while the younger ones get FNs. In Polish, kinship terms or their diminutive forms are more like names; they are also capitalized, but very rarely combined with FNs, unless S wants to stress the identity of H, and they can never appear with SNs (e.g. *Babcia* (“Granny”), *Dziadek* (“Grandad”), *Ciocia Nisia* (“Auntie Nisia”).

Among others, the strategies of positive politeness involve the mechanism of “claiming ‘common ground’ with H, by indicating that S and H both belong to some set of persons who share specific wants, including goals and values” (Brown and Levinson, 1990:103). S may make his claim by stressing common membership in a group. He may stress this by using common dialect, slang, ellipsis, or address forms. The function of claiming in-group solidarity can be performed by means of the following address forms: a T form (second person singular), diminutives of H’s names (FN, SN, or kinship terms), or *generic names* (GNs) (ibid.). GNs can be found both in Polish and in English (16, 17).

16. *śoneczko* (“sun” (Dim))
chłopie (“man”)

17. *honey*
pal

Like all the address forms they have a pragmatic function of expressing respect or lack of respect for H. Besides, they have an expressive function (Ożóg, 1990); they express S's emotional attitude towards H (positive, negative, or ironic). They can be used between friends and strangers. However, most of them are limited in use.

Most GNs are used in addressing:

- women, very often by elderly women or shop attendants (18.a–d, 19)
- women (18, 24.b,d,f,g)
- women, esp. by elderly women or in service encounters (18.a,d,f, 19, 24.a,b,c,d,f)
- someone S loves, or a member of his/her family (18.a,c, 19.c, 20, 24.a,d,e,f)
- someone belonging to the same group (21, 26.h, 25.e)
- men (22, 25.a,b,c,d,f,g)
- men, esp. by elderly women or in service encounters (23, 24.c)

18.

- a) *moja droga* (“my dear”)
- b) (*pani*) *kochana, kochana* (*pani*) (“dear (madam)”) (inf)
- c) (*moja*) *złota/złociutka* (“(my) golden/golden (Dim)”) (inf)
- d) *szanowna pani* (“madam”)
- e) *kobieto* (“woman”) (inf)
- f) *dziecino* (“child”) (inf)

19.

- a) *paniusiu* (“madam (Dim)”) (inf)
- b) *córciu, córusiu* (“daughter (Dim)”) (inf)
- c) *duszeko, kotuniu, złotko* (“duckie”) (inf)

20.

- a) *kochanie* (“dear”) (inf)
- b) *skarbie, skarbeczku* (“darling”) (inf)
- c) *najdroższy/sza* (“dearest”) (inf)
- d) *żabciu, żabeńko* (“frog (Dim)”) (inf)

21.

- a) *bracie* (“brother”), *siostró* (“sister”)
- b) *kolego/koleżankó* (“colleague”)

22.

- a) *panie kochany* (“dear sir”) (inf)
- b) *panie szanowny* (“sir”)
- c) *człowieku* (“man”) (inf)

23.

- a) *mój drogi* (“my dear”)
- b) *młodzięncze* (“young man”)

24.

- a) *honey* (AmE) (inf)
- b) *love* (*luv*) (BrE) (inf)
- c) *duckie* (BrE) (inf)
- d) *darling* (inf) (inf)
- e) *dear*
- f) *sweetheart* (inf)
- g) *babe* (AmE) (inf) (offensive)
- h) *sister*

25.

- a) *Mac* (AmE) (inf)
- b) *mate* (BrE) (inf)
- c) *buddy* (AmE) (inf)
- d) *pal* (AmE) (inf)
- e) *brother*
- f) *guys* (AmE) (inf)
- g) *fellas* (inf)

As we can see almost all English and Polish GNs are restricted to informal contexts. Most Polish as well as English GNs are used in situations when S does not know H’s name or surname (Brown and Levinson, 1990; Oźóg, 1990; Wolfson, 1993) (18, 19, 22, 23, 26.a,b,d,e,f,g, 25.a,b,c,d,f,g). As mentioned above GNs express S’s positive or negative attitude towards H. If the attitude is negative or ironical, Poles resort to using:

- the form *pan/pani* without *proszę*
- the forms presented in 18.c,d, 19.a, 21.b, and 22, with significant length of vowels in stressed syllables (e.g. *paanie kochaany*)
- the construction *pan/pani* + 2sg (Oźóg, 1990; Lubecka, 1993) (26).

26. *Dawaj pan tę cegłę!* (“Sir, give (me) this brick!”)

This use of Polish GNs can be compared to American English *buddy*, which is often used in anger. What GNs have in common, except claiming in-group solidarity, is the function of softening FTAs (Brown and Levinson, 1990) (27, 28).

27.

a) *Here mate, I was keeping that seat for a friend of mine...*

b) *Help me with this bag, here, will you* { *luv?*
son?
pal? }

c) *Bring me your dirty clothes to wash,* { *honey.*
darling.
Johnny. }

(*ibid.*:108)

28.

a) *Moje zlotko, weź i skasuj mi ten bilet.* (Ożóg, 1990:69)
("My duckie, take this ticket and cancel it.")

b) *Kochanie, podaj mi tę książkę.*
("Darling, give me that book.")

c) *Panie kochany, to nie miejsce na bagaż!*
("Dear sir, it is not a place for luggage!")

The Polish and English forms of address may be compared in terms of *power* and *solidarity*. In Polish, if S wants to address H, he may choose between "ty ('you') (solidarity and power exercising) and *pan/pani* power/prestige-acknowledging with an intermediate dialectal prestige form *wy*" (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1993:264). These forms do not have equivalents in English. Since English cannot any longer distinguish solidarity and power by means of pronouns, personal names and titles are the only markers of power and solidarity (Hook, 1984; Wierzbicka, 1991; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1993).

29. *John – John Brown – Mr Brown – Professor Brown*
(Wierzbicka, 1991:106)

Wierzbicka (1991) tries to compare these two address systems by referring to the values of *intimacy* and *courtesy*. The Polish form *ty* ("you": sg) may be considered intimate, because there is a great variety of forms of address from very formal ones with titles on the one hand, to intimate ones and *ty* on the other; while in English *you* cannot be considered intimate, as it is used indiscriminately to everyone (Wierzbicka (1985:164) calls it "a social equalizer"). The forms *pan/pani* and the dialectal form *wy* ("you": pl) express courtesy, while *you* does not express this value.

The form of the verb can also be an important marker of formality (and respect). The forms *pan/pani* and religious titles are always followed by 3 sg verbs (30). The 3 sg verb can be also used in the case of ascending kinship terms (32), but this use is almost gone, Pisarkowa (1979) claims. It is also used in the case of FNs of social inferiors (Wierzbicka, 1992).

30. *Czy pani widzi?* (Ma'am (you) see: 3 sg)
"Do you see, Ma'am?"

31. *Mamusiu, widzisz?* (Mummy (you) see: 2sg)
"Mummy, you see?"

32. *Mamusia widzi?* (Mummy sees: 3sg)
“Mummy, you see?”
(Wierzbicka, 1992:318–319)

Plural forms such as *państwo* (“ladies and gentlemen”), *panowie* (“gentlemen”) and *panie* (“ladies”) can take either 2 pl or 3 pl verbs, where the use of 3 pl verbs is more formal (Comrie, 1975; Huszcza, 1980). Polite plurals and predicate agreement exist only in some Polish dialects (Comrie, 1975) and are combined with the address form *wy* (“you”: pl):

33. *Wy widzicie:* pl.
“You see.”
34. *Wy będziecie swatka:* sg/swatką: sg.
“You will be a marriage broker.”
35. *Wyście:* pl *widzieli:* pl/*widziela:* sg.
“You saw.”
36. *Wyście byli:* pl *chorzy:* pl/*chora:* sg.
była: sg *chora:* sg.
“You were ill.”
(Comrie, 1975:40–407)

The finite form *wyście* is a clitic form meaning “to be”. The use of the plural form *wy* endorsed by the communist regime has nothing to do with the above-mentioned form (cf. Peisert, 1991). Both its origin and its meaning are different. While the former is very courteous, respectful and personal, the latter stresses impersonal equality and is not courteous (Wierzbicka, 1992).

Address forms very often appear with greetings and farewells, the choice of which depends also on the relation between interlocutors and their social status.

3.1.2. Greetings and farewells

Greetings and *farewells* are called by Goffman (1971:79) “access rituals”. “Greetings mark the transition to a condition of increased access and farewells to a state of decreased access”. The point of performing these rituals is “to enact an emotion that attests to the pleasure produced by the contact” (ibid.: 47).

In every culture there exist certain norms defining the way in which the conversation should be started and in which it should be ended. In every language there are socially acceptable opening and closing routines. The Polish

language has a great variety of formulae which can be used at the beginning and in the end of the conversation. Ożóg (1990) differentiates between *direct* (explicit) and *indirect* (implicit) greeting and farewell formulae. The former contain the performative verb (e.g. *witać* (“to greet”), *żegnać* (“to bid goodbye”)). Greetings with a performative verb take the form of a proposition in the first person singular. The verb is often modified by adverbs (37), and it can take the form of an infinitive (38) or an imperative (39). The greeting sentence can be in the future tense (40) or it can have a modal verb *chcę, chciałbym* (“I would like to”) (41), or the phrase *mam zaszczyt* (“I have the honour”) (42), which are used only in very formal situations (Ożóg, 1990).

37. *Witam Pana bardzo serdecznie.*
 (“I greet (you) Sir very heartily.”)
38. *Powitać szanowną Panią.*
 (“To greet (you) Madam.”)
39. *Witaj Stary! (inf)*
 (“Greet, (you) old chap!”)
40. *Ja się pożegnam.*
 (“I will bid (you) goodbye.”)
41. *Chciałbym serdecznie przywitać wszystkich zgromadzonych.* (form)
 (“I would like to greet heartily all (people) gathered (here).”)
42. *Mam zaszczyt powitać wszystkich Państwa.* (form)
 (“I have the honour to greet all (of you) Ladies and Gentlemen.”)

In English performative verbs are never present in greeting or farewell formulae, except for the formula *welcome*, used to greet a guest or someone who has just arrived or returned (Tannen and Öztek, 1981).

43.
 a) *Welcome to our new home!*
 b) *Welcome back!* (ibid.:39)

However, in Polish indirect greeting and farewell formulae are far more frequent than the direct ones and are comparable to the English ones.

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| 44. Polish | English |
| a) <i>Dzień dobry</i> | <i>Good morning</i> (before noon) |
| (“good day”) | <i>Good afternoon</i> (from 12 noon
or after lunch to the end of the
working day) |

b) <i>Dobry wieczór</i> ("good evening") <i>Dobranoc</i> or <i>Dobrej nocy</i> ("good night")	<i>Good evening</i> (after work or from 6 pm onwards) <i>Good night</i>
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The Polish and English nominal formulae (44) are very similar not only in their form, but also in being very stereotypical and in the high degree of conventionality. Like many other polite formulae, they imply that S feels something good toward H, and in that they are often insincere (for the farewell formulae expressing good wishes see Subsection 3.2.3.). In English only farewell formulae take the form of an imperative (45), while in Polish there is one greeting formula of this form (39).

45. *Look after yourself.*
Take care.
Mind how you go. Bye!

Poles finding themselves in an English-speaking country very often complain about English or American insincerity or insincere friendliness (see comments on *How are you?* later on), while Poles themselves are considered over-polite and servile. We would not find English equivalents of the following phrases:

46.
a) *Moje uszanowanie* (form) ("My respect (towards you).")
b) *Kłaniam się* (form) ("I am bowing.")
c) *Całuję rączki*. ("I kiss (your) hands (Dim).")
d) *Padam do nóżek*. ("I fall at (your) feet (Dim).")
e) *Serwus!* (inf) ("(Your) slave (Lat).")
f) *Czołem!* (inf) ("(I am) bowing down (to you).")
g) *Cześć!* (inf) ("(I regard you with) reverence.")

In the past all of them expressed respect for H. Today even though they do not have the semantic force they used to have, some of them still express respect (46.a–d) (used mainly by the older generation), whereas some (46.e–g) are semantically empty and have only a phatic function (used in informal situations, by young people or friends). The examples (46.e–g) may be compared to (cf. Janicki, 1977):

47.
a) *Hi* (inf) or *Hiya!* (inf)
b) *Hello!* (inf)

- c) *Bye!* (inf)
- d) *Bye-bye!* (inf)
- e) *Cheerio!* (inf)
- f) *Cheers!* (inf)
- g) *So long!* (inf)

Besides being a greeting (47.b), *hello* can be a summons (e.g. *Hello... anybody home?*), or an answer to a summons, as when answering the telephone (Richards and Schmidt, 1993). The Polish word *halo* is used in similar contexts.

English *bye-bye* (47.d) sounds very similar to Polish *pa-pa*, used by women and children. Non-propositional greetings like *hello* are usually short and neutral, simply recognizing that an encounter has started, while, propositional greetings (e.g. *How nice to see you!*) like other polite formulae can be insincere (Hudson, 1987).

Some Polish indirect farewell formulae have the form of prepositional phrase (48.b being, like its English equivalent *Goodbye*, the most popular farewell formula):

48.

- a) *Do jutra* (“(Goodbye) till tomorrow”)
- b) *Do widzenia* (“(Goodbye) till (we) see (each other again)”)
- c) *Do zobaczenia* (“(Goodbye) till (we) see (each other again)”)
- d) *Do poniedziałku* (“(Goodbye) till Monday”)

The English formulae closest in meaning and use to the examples (48) are the following:

49.

- a) *See you (soon/later/tomorrow/around)!*
- b) *I'll be seeing you.*

As mentioned before, Poles complain about the insincerity of English conversational routines, especially of the formula *How are you?* and similar ones (e.g. *Nice to see you; Lovely day, isn't it?*) (cf. Braun, 1988:46). These phrases are used either just after the initial greetings or stand for greetings themselves (cf. Goffman, 1981:47). Let us consider more closely the question *How are you?* called by Kasper (1989) a *phatic inquiry*. Here is how Wierzbicka (1991:132) defines it: “*How are you?* is not just a greeting, but a kind of cross between a greeting, a question, and an invitation for the addressee to say something about their current state — something that is expected to be short and ‘good’ rather than long and ‘bad’.” *How are you?* as a conversational opening cannot be treated as a concerned inquiry about H’s health. Asking the question S merely complies with the rules of politeness.

Not to be less polite than his interlocutor, H has to react to it in a prescribed way:

a) he answers the question:

I am well. or

I want to say: I am well (but I can't).

b) he says: *Thank you.* or *Thanks.*

c) he reciprocates the question:

And how are you? or

And yourself?

(Wierzbicka, 1991)

The answer to this question is expected to be “brief, elusive, and as positive as possible” (Ferrara, 1980:333). Wierzbicka (1991:134–135) gives the list of expected responses:

50.

a) *Very well; Fine*

b) *Good; I'm well*

c) *Not too bad; I'm OK*

d) *Not too good; Not very well*

In the case of great distance or difference in social status between interlocutors, responses to how-are-you-type questions are always positive. The smaller the distance between interlocutors (e.g. close friends), the greater the possibility of hearing a sincere negative response. If S really wants to know how H is feeling, he repeats the question after the routine is completed, marking it with contrastive intonation (Saville-Troike, 1982).

Poles often say that they are unacquainted with routines like *How are you?* Is this really so? There are Polish formulae which perfectly suit the main part of Wierzbicka's definition: “a kind of cross between a greeting, a question, and an invitation for the addressee to say something about their current state”, namely, greeting questions beginning with the adverbial pronoun *jak* (“how”), or with the pronoun *co* (“what”), followed by the particle *tam* (“there”) (Ożóg, 1990):

51. Polish

a) *Jak tam?* (inf)

(“How (is) there?”)

b) *Jak tam się wiedzie?* (inf)

(“How is it going?”)

c) *Jak się żyje?* (inf)

(“How are you living?”)

English

How goes it? (inf)

How goes it with you? (inf)

How is life treating you? (inf)

- d) *Żyjesz?* (inf)
 (“Are You living?”)
- e) *Jak tam żona i dzieci?*
 (“How are your wife and children?”)
- f) *Jak się masz?* *How are you?*
 (“How are you?”)
- g) *Co (tam) słychać?* (inf)
 (“What’s being heard?”)
- h) *Co (tam) nowego?* (inf) *What’s new? (inf)*
 (“What’s new?”) *What’s the latest? (inf)*

All of them are highly stereotypical and their former meanings are almost forgotten, except for 51.e. The responses to them are also conventional and banal.

52.

- a) *Jakoś leci.* (“It is going somehow”)
 b) *Po staremu.* (“As before.”) (ibid.)
 c) *Stara bida.* (“Old misery.”) (ibid.)
 d) *(Dziękuję), może być.* (“(Thank you), it could be worse.”)
 e) *W porządku.* (“(It’s) alright.”)

The Polish formulae beginning with *jak tam* and *co tam* are very similar in their meaning and use to English *How are you?*, but the responses to these questions differ. The Polish responses, as we can see in (52), do not have to be “as positive as possible” at all. On the contrary, there is a strong tendency to downgrade the positive self-report. The Polish response *Jakoś leci* can be compared to the English *Not (too) bad*. However, with the political and economic changes in Poland in recent years some Poles have changed also their way of presenting self-image. Their responses to the above-mentioned questions now tend more often to be positive. The Polish greeting questions, unlike the English ones, do not have to be reciprocated, although sometimes they are:

53. A. *Dzień dobry.*
 B. *Dzień dobry.*
 A. *Jak leci?*
 B. *Jako tako.* (“So so.”)
 A. *A co u Ciebie?* (“And you?”)
 B. *Nic nowego.* (“Nothing new.”)

Before interlocutors say goodbye to each other, in the pre-closing section they try to negotiate the actual closing. Before saying *goodbye* Poles often use the

following pre-closing signals: *nic to* (54.a), *zatem* (54.b), *wobec tego* (54.c), *no to* (55.d) (Ożóg, 1990). Speakers of English in such situations say: *well, OK, So-oo* (with downward intonation), *yeah* or hesitations, which Poles also employ (Clark and French, 1981; Richards and Schmidt, 1993; Gramley and Pätzold, 1992; Wardhaugh, 1992). Before ending the conversation, interlocutors may refer to their own interests (55.a–d), or to the other party’s interests (55.e). “The routine questions that often occur at the beginnings of conversation” (56.a) “can provide material for moves towards conclusion” (Richards and Schmidt, 1993:135) (56.b). Interlocutors can also reinvoke the reasons for entering a conversation (Clark and French, 1981; Richards and Schmidt, 1993) (57).

54.

- a) *Nic to, cześć.*
- b) *Zatem żegnam Was.*
- c) *Wobec tego do jutra.*

55. Polish

- a) *Zmuszony jestem Was pożegnać.*
 (“I must say goodbye to you.”)

English

I’m afraid I must get back to work.

- b) *Na mnie już pora.*
 (“It is time for me (to leave).”)

Is that the time!

- c) *Muszę lecieć. (inf)*
 (“I must rush.”)

Sorry, I must rush.

- d) *No to pędzę. (inf)*
 (“So, I rush.”)

Sorry, I’ve got to run.

- e) *Nie będę ci już więcej czasu zajmować.*
 (“I won’t take you any more time.”)

Well, I don’t want to keep you any longer.

56. Polish

- a) *Co porabiasz?*
 (“What are you doing?”)

English

What are you doing?

- b) *No to, ucz się.*
 (“So, get back to your study.”)

I guess I’ll let you get back to your work.

57. Polish

No, chciałem tylko dowiedzieć się, jak ci się wiedzie.
 (“So, I just wanted do know how you were doing.”)

English

So, well I just wanted to know how you were doing.

One of the functions of pre-closing expressions is to indicate continuity in the interlocutors' relationship by "cementing what has taken place so that it can be resumed at the next opportunity" (Loveday, 1982:78), and by planning for future contact (58). Interlocutors wish each other well or express good wishes to be passed on to a third person, and finally exchange *goodbyes* (Clark and French, 1981), which can also be observed in Polish at the end of the pre-closing section.

58. Polish

a) *Miło się (z tobą) rozmawiało.*
("It's been nice talking (to you).")

b) *Myślę, że się niedługo zobaczymy.*
("I think we'll see each other soon.")

c) *No to będziemy w kontakcie.*
("Well, we'll be in touch.")

English

It's been nice talking to you.

Hope to see you again.

I'll be in touch.

Native speakers of English (especially Americans), at leave-takings or at the end of conversations held during chance encounters, often utter invitation-like forms which have already become formulaic (59). They cannot be counted as true invitations, because they are not yes/no questions, but they include expressions like *soon*, *one day*, *sometime* (Wolfson, 1993). These invitation-like forms are "statements of good intention and, more importantly, [...] openings which allow the participants in the conversation to negotiate for an invitation or an actual appointment" (ibid.:75).

59.

a) *We must meet up sometime.*

b) *Let's get together again.*

As statements of good intention, invitation-like forms should not be taken to be insincere, but they are often considered to be so by non-native speakers who do not use similar forms in their native language. This is the case with Poles who often misinterpret this kind of utterance, taking them for actual invitations, although they themselves use similar forms in Polish (60). However, the Polish invitation-like forms are significantly less frequent and less formulaic than the English ones.

60. *Musimy się kiedyś spotkać.* ("We have to meet sometime.")

As we can see it is not easy to start or end the conversation. Both verbal and non-verbal behaviour in these situations differs across languages, even though

they are not typologically distant. The same can be said about thanks and especially responses to thanks, which differ particularly sociopragmatically in the two languages.

3.1.3. Thanks and responses to thanks

Thanks

Expressing thanks is an FTA that threatens S's negative face. "S accepts a debt, humbles his own face" (Brown and Levinson, 1990:67). While on the other hand, according to Edmondson (1981) it is an H-supportive act.

It can be said that expressing gratitude is universal, but people of different cultures express it in different ways, in different situations.

The problem of expressing gratitude is not simple. It is conditioned by several factors:

- the relation between interlocutors
- the situation in which the act of thanking is taking place
- "the object of gratitude"
- the degree of gratefulness.

Coulmas (1981a) describes the object of gratitude in terms of several properties:

- real vs. potential
- material vs. immaterial
- requested vs. not requested
- indebting vs. not indebting

Real objects of gratitude (e.g. favour, invitation (afterwards)) are followed by what Coulmas (1981a:74) calls "*thanks ex post*", while potential ones (e.g. promise, offer, or invitation) are followed by "*thanks ex ante*". Immaterial goods like wishes (see Subsection 3.2.3.), compliments (see Subsection 3.2.1.), congratulations (see Subsection 3.2.2.) and information can also be followed by thanks (Pomeranz, 1978; Goffman, 1981; Richards and Sukwiat, 1983; Wierzbicka, 1991).

Expressing thanks *ex ante* differs in Polish and in English. Poles say *dziękuję* ("thank you") when they want to express their appreciation of an offer, turning it down at the same time, while *thank you* is used both when the offer is to be accepted and when it is to be declined (cf. Masłowska, 1992). To accept an offer in Polish one has to say *proszę* ("please"), which is also possible in English (61 and 62).

61.

a) A: *Czy poszłabyś ze mną dzisiaj do teatru?*

B: *Z przyjemnością.*

or

B: *Dziękuję, ale niestety jestem zajęta.*

(“Would you like to go with me to the theatre tonight?”

“With pleasure.”

or

“Thank you, but unfortunately I’m busy tonight.”)

b) A: *Chciałbyś jeszcze trochę zupy?*

B: *A! Proszę jeszcze trochę.*

or

B: *Nie, dziękuję.*

(“Would you like some more soup?”

“Yes, please.” or “No, thank you.”)

62.

a) A: *Would you like to come to Ann’s party with me?*

B: *Thank you. I’d like to very much.*

b) A: *Would you like a cup of coffee?*

B: *Yes, please.*

or

B: *Thanks very much.*

c) A: *Will you have a little more apple pie?*

B: *No, I won’t, thank you.*

When it comes to celebrations at which food is served, Poles differ in their behaviour from native speakers of English. Polish hosts tend to be very insistent that their guests eat and drink a lot, but it is polite for the guests to turn the offer down with *dziękuję* repeated several times, before accepting it finally. English hosts serve their guests once and expect sincere responses. *No, thank you* always means a sincere turning down of the offer (cf. Klos-Sokol, 1994). It is quite frequent in Polish that S responds to a promise with the form *z góry dziękuję* (“thank you in advance”), stressing at the same time the *ex ante* character of his thanks. But it is not considered very elegant.

An important factor influencing the actual form of expression of gratitude is the degree of gratefulness. When S wants to express his gratitude in a stronger and more effective way, he employs various modifiers to strengthen his thanks.

63.

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| a) <i>Dziękuję – Thank you</i> | – for a small favour |
| b) <i>Naprawdę bardzo gorąco dziękuję.</i>
(“Thank you very warmly indeed.”)
<i>Thank you so very much.</i> | } – for a big favour |

Some Polish intensifying adverbs are no longer as meaningful as they used to be because of frequent use. This refers mainly to the set phrases: *dziękuję bardzo* and *serdecznie dziękuję*. Today the adverbs *bardzo* (“very”) and *serdecznie* (“whole-heartedly”) are only empty signs of politeness. The same can be said about the English formula *thank you very much*. The adverbs that really intensify the expression of thanks are Polish *ogromnie* (“immensely”), *strasznie* (“terribly”), *gorąco* (“warmly”), and *naprawdę* (“really”), and English *extremely*, *immensely*, *most* and *really* (Blundell et. al., 1992). To strengthen his thanks S can also resort to other performative constructions, stressing gratefulness (64).

64. Polish

- a) *Naprawdę jestem bardzo wdzięczny.*
 (form)
 (“I’m really very grateful.”)

- b) *Jestem niewymownie wdzięczny.*
 (form)
 (“I’m inexpressibly grateful.”)

- c) *Nie wiem, jak panu dziękować.*
 (“I don’t know how to thank
 (you) sir.”)

English

*I’m extremely/immensely
grateful.* (form)

*I really don’t know how to
thank you.
I can’t thank you enough.*

65. Polish

- Wielkie dzięki.*
 (“Great thanks.”) (inf)
Stokrotne dzięki.
 (“Thanks a hundred.”) (inf)
Piękne dzięki.
 (“Beautiful thanks.”) (inf)

English

Thanks a lot. (inf)
Thanks a million. (inf)
Thanks very much. (inf)

The Polish form *dzięki* can also be used alone, like its English counterpart. They resemble each other not only with respect to the context in which they are used (informal), but also in their plural form (65).

In formal situations both Polish and English native speakers use more complex performative constructions (66 and 67).

66. *Składam wyrazy wdzięczności.* (“gratitude”) (form)
Składam gorące podziękowania. (“thanking”) (very form)
Chciałbym bardzo podziękować wszystkim za przybycie. (very form)
 (“I would like to thank you all for coming.”)
Jestem/Czuję się bardzo zobowiązany. (form)
 (“I am/feel very obliged.”)
67. *I should like to express my gratitude.* (very form)
I would like to say how grateful I am. (very form)
I’m extremely obliged. (form)

Gratitude may be expressed indirectly by:

- complimenting the benefactor (68.a,c)
- expressing affection (68.b)
- expressing positive feelings evoked by the favour (68.d)
- stressing the lack of necessity for such generosity (68.e)
- expressing the inability to articulate deep feelings (64.c, 68.f) (Eisenstein and Bodman, 1993)
- expressing good wishes (see Subsection 3.2.3).

Polish	English
a) <i>Jest Pan bardzo uprzejmy.</i> (“You’re very kind.”)	<i>That was really nice of you.</i>
b) <i>Kochana jesteś.</i> (inf) (“You’re a sweetheart.”)	<i>You’re a sweetheart.</i> (inf)
c) <i>Jesteś moim wybawcą.</i> (inf) (“You’re my saver.”) <i>Jesteś cudowny.</i> (inf) (“You’re great.”)	<i>You’re a lifesaver.</i> (inf)
d) <i>Świetnie.</i> <i>Fajnie.</i> <i>Cudownie.</i> } (“Great.”) (very inf)	<i>Cheers.</i> (very inf) <i>Great.</i>
e) <i>Nie musiałeś, naprawdę.</i> (“You really didn’t have to.”)	<i>You didn’t have to.</i>
f) <i>Naprawdę nie wiem, co powiedzieć.</i> (“I really do not know what to say.”) (form)	<i>I don’t know what to say.</i> (form).

Responses to thanks

The person receiving thanks is obliged by the rules of politeness to respond to them. He has two options, either recognizing the object of gratitude and relieving the interlocutor of its burden, or denying the existence of such an object or playing it down. Which option he will choose depends on the relation between the interlocutors and the nature of the object of gratitude (Coulmas, 1981a).

In Polish we can find responses to thanks of the above-mentioned types and the most common “neutral” formula *proszę* (“please”), which in this context has lost completely its former meaning (*prosić* – “to ask for, to request”) (Ożóg, 1990). It may be modified by the adverbs: *bardzo* (“very”) and *uprzejmie* (“kindly”) (e.g. *proszę cię bardzo, proszę uprzejmie*). When the benefactor decides to recognize the object of gratitude and relieve his interlocutor of its burden (69), sometimes he also expresses satisfaction at what he has done for him (69.c, d, e).

69. Polish	English
a) <i>W porządku.</i> (“All right.”) (inf) <i>Okej.</i> (“OK.”) (very inf)	<i>That’s quite all right.</i> (inf) <i>That’s OK.</i> (inf)
b) <i>Polecam się na przyszłość.</i> (“I commend myself (to you) for the future.”)	<i>You’re welcome.</i> <i>Any time.</i> (very inf)
c) <i>Bardzo się cieszę.</i> (“I’m very glad.”)	<i>I was glad to be of help.</i> (form)
d) <i>Cieszę się, że mogłem pomóc.</i> (form) (“I’m glad I could help.”)	<i>Delighted I was able to help.</i>
e) <i>Cała przyjemność po mojej stronie.</i> (“The pleasure is mine.”)	<i>It’s a pleasure.</i> <i>My pleasure.</i>

When the benefactor denies the existence of the object of gratitude or plays it down, he can use as a response one of the formulae in example 70.

70. Polish	English
a) <i>Nie ma za co.</i> (“There is nothing (to thank for).”)	<i>Not at all.</i> (inf)
b) <i>Nie ma o czym mówić.</i> (“There is nothing to talk about.”)	

<i>Daj spokój!</i> ("Drop it!") (inf)	<i>Don't mention it.</i>
<i>Nie nudź!</i> ("Don't be a nuisance!") (inf)	
c) <i>Drobnostka. To żaden kłopot.</i> ("A trifle. No trouble at all.")	<i>No trouble at all.</i> <i>No problem.</i> (inf)
<i>Małe piwo.</i> ("A small beer.") (inf)	
<i>Pestka.</i> ("A trifle.") (inf)	
<i>To naprawdę drobiazg.</i> ("It's really a trifle".)	<i>It was the least I could do.</i> (form)

"Recognizing the object of gratitude is not always permissible" (Coulmas, 1981a:77). In some situations thanks are not followed by any response. This is especially the case when the object of gratitude is immaterial, e.g. a compliment (we do not admit flattery, see Subsection 3.2.1.), a good wish, or when thanks are a response to the formula *How are you?* or *Jak się masz?* respectively. In the shop the customer says *thank you* for the article he has bought and the shop assistant often says *thank you* in return, on receiving the money (Leech and Svartvik, 1975; Coulmas, 1981a). Polish *dziękuję* is also used in this way. This can be explained by the fact that these objects of gratitude are not threats to the beneficiary's face which the benefactor would have to play down. Thanks that do not imply indebtedness do not require any response.

Hymes (1969) observed that the use of *thank you* in British English differs from that in American English. American English *thank you* is mainly a formula expressing gratitude, while "British '*thank you*' seems on its way to marking formally the segments of certain interactions, with only residual attachment to 'thanking' in some cases" (ibid.:69). Also Richards and Schmidt (1993), citing Schegloff and Sacks (1973), claim that an adjacency pair like *thank you – you're welcome*, or *OK* can be used as "a terminal exchange such as an exchange of goodbyes" (ibid.:134). The formula *thank you* is especially common in ending service encounters, but then as already mentioned it is not followed by any response (cf. Clark and French, 1981; Aston, 1995). Similarly Polish *dziękuję* is used as a formal marker of discourse structure, serving often as a pre-closing or closing formula in formal encounters, e.g. in the office, when a customer says *thank you* to a clerk at the end of the conversation.

3.1.4. Apologies and responses to apologies

Apologies

Like thanks, apologies are “reactive acts”. Both thanks and apologies “presuppose some intervention in the course of events as a rationale of their performance” (Coulmas, 1981a:71). In their directness and explicitness both of them are instances of “socially-sanctioned H-Supportive behaviour” (Edmondson, 1981a:280; cf. “H’s face-supportive acts” (FSAs) in Holmes, 1989). But “thanking involves events deemed praiseworthy by prevailing social norms”, while “apologies refer back to events that constitute norm infringements” (Bergman and Kasper, 1993:82). By apologizing for doing an FTA, called in this case by Coulmas (1981a:75) “the object of regret”, S indicates his reluctance to impinge on H’s negative face and thereby partially redresses that impingement (Brown and Levinson, 1990). Goffman (1971) refers to apology as a “remedy” (ibid.:140), one of the three elements of remedial interchange. Bergman and Kasper’s definitions are limited to apologies *ex post*. While the object of regret can be either predictable or unpredictable (Coulmas, 1981a).

In the former case S has to resort to apologies *ex ante*, or the ones occurring at the same time as the object of regret. Brown and Levinson (1990) claim the existence of at least four ways “to communicate regret or reluctance to do an FTA” (ibid.:187, cf. Marcjanik, 1995):

- to admit the impingement (71)
- to indicate reluctance (72)
- to give overwhelming reasons (73)
- to beg forgiveness (74).

71. Polish

a) *Wiem, że jesteś bardzo zajęty, ale...*

(“I know that you are very busy, but...”)

b) *Mam do ciebie wielką prośbę.*

(“I would like to ask you a big favour.”)

c) *Mam nadzieję, że nie sprawi ci to wiele kłopotu, jeżeli...*

(“I hope this will not cause much trouble to you, if...”)

English

I’m sure you must be very busy, but...
(Brown and Levinson, 1990:188)

I’d like to ask you a big favour.

(ibid.)

I hope this isn’t going to bother you too much.

(ibid.)

72. Polish

a) *Nie wiem, czy dobrze trafiłem.*
("I do not know if I turned
to the right person.")

b) *Nie chciałbym przeszkadzać, ale...*
("I would not like to
interrupt (you), but...")

c) *Nie chciałbym sprawiać kłopotów.*
("I would not like to cause
any trouble.")

d) *Mam nadzieję, że nie masz nic
przeciwko...*
("I hope you do not
mind...")

e) *Mam nadzieję, że nie będziesz
miał mi za złe, jeśli powiem...*
("I hope you do not mind
my saying this, but...")

f) *Niestety, { nie.
 { tak.*
("Unfortunately, { not.
 { yes.")

English

*Look, I've probably come to the wrong
person, but...* (ibid.)

*I don't want to { bother } but...
 { interrupt }*
(ibid.)

*I hate to { intrude } but...
 { impose }*
(ibid.)

I hesitate to trouble you, but... (ibid.)

I hope you don't mind...

*I hope you don't mind my saying this,
but...* (ibid.)

*I'm afraid { so.
 { not.*

73. Polish

a) *Po prostu nie mogę sobie dać
rady...*
("Simply I cannot
manage...")

b) *Jestem zupełnie w kropce.*
(inf.)
("I'm completely in a fix.")

English

I simply can't manage to...
(ibid.:189)

I'm absolutely lost... (ibid.)

74. Polish

a) *(Bardzo) przepraszam, ale...*
("Excuse me, but...")

English

Excuse me, but... (ibid.)

- b) *Przepraszam, że przeszkadzam, ale...* *I'm sorry to bother you... (ibid.)*
 ("Sorry to bother you, but...")
- c) *Proszę o wybaczenie, ale...* *I hope you'll* } *forgive me if...*
 (form) *Please* } (ibid.)
 ("Please forgive me, but...") *Would you*
- Wybacz, ale...*
 ("Forgive (me), but...")
- d) *Proszę o wyrozumiałość...* *I beg your indulgence... (form)*
 (form) (ibid.)
 ("I beg (your) indulgence...")
 (*Proszę*) *zrozum mnie...*
 (inf)
 ("(Please) understand me...")
- Bardzo mi przykro, ale nie mogę ci pomóc.* *I'm terribly sorry.*
 ("I'm very sorry, but I can't help you.")

English *excuse me* and Polish *przepraszam* (*bardzo*) are used as interruption forms (e.g. in interrupting a conversation), attention getters, territory invasion signals (e.g. in reaching across a table), opening signals, as announcements of temporary absence (e.g. in order to answer the phone or open the door), or when S wants to get some information from a stranger (Borkin and Reinhart, 1978; Coulmas, 1981a; Loveday, 1982; Ożóg, 1990; Bergman and Kasper, 1993; Marcjanik, 1995).

The Polish formula *przepraszam* is sometimes used in the context in which *proszę* ("please") would also suit (Masłowska, 1992:88):

75. *Przepraszam panią* – "proszę zrobić mi miejsce" ("please let me pass")

This formula is very similar to English *excuse me* (or sometimes less appropriately used *I'm sorry*) used by S passing somebody in a narrow corridor (Borkin and Reinhart, 1978).

I beg your pardon, and its reduced form *pardon*, which are also clearly derived from remedial moves, are conventional forms of repeat-request in British English (Owen, 1983). *I'm sorry* and *excuse me* (more formal) are also used as repeat-requests (Borkin and Reinhart, 1978). Their Polish equivalents can be either *przepraszam* or *proszę* ("please"), which is more common.

The act of apology can also be used strategically, as in “disarming strategy” (Edmondson, 1981:144). S’s offence in such cases can be a mental one. Like other instances of apology this one is also H-supportive. *Przepraszam* and *I’m sorry* may be used to soften implied directives (76.a), other messages presumed to be unpleasant to H (76.b), or refusals to requests (76.c) (Borkin and Reinhart, 1978; Edmondson, 1981, 1981a; Marcjanik, 1995).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 76. Polish | English |
| a) <i>Przepraszam, ale to jest moje miejsce.</i>
(“I’m sorry, but it’s my seat.”) | <i>I’m sorry, but that’s my Newsweek.</i> |
| b) <i>Przepraszam, ale mam inne zdanie.</i>
(“I’m sorry, but I have a different opinion.”)
<i>Przykro mi, ale nie mogę się z tobą zgodzić.</i>
(“I’m sorry, but I can’t agree with you.”) | <i>I’m sorry, but I can’t agree with you.</i> |
| c) A: <i>Mogłabyś pożyczyć mi tę książkę?</i>
B: <i>Przepraszam, ale teraz ją właśnie czytam.</i>
(“Could you lend me this book?”
“Sorry, but I’m just reading it.”) | A: <i>Can you lend me five pounds?</i>
B: <i>Sorry, George.</i> |

As in the case of apologies *ex ante*, apologies *ex post* can be divided into those which are realized by direct formulae and those which are realized by indirect ones (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984; Ożóg, 1990). In Polish they are the formula *przepraszam* (“I apologize”), formal formulae with the infinitive *przeprosić* (“to apologize”), and constructions with the verb *wybaczyć* (“to forgive”) or the noun *wybaczenie* (“forgiveness”), and with the performative verb *żałuję* (“I am sorry”) (Ożóg, 1990). In English they are constructions with the performative verb *to apologize*, the formulae expressing regret *I’m afraid* and *I’m sorry*, and the formulae expressing request for forgiveness *excuse me* and *forgive me*.

77. Polish

Przepraszam.

English

(I'm) sorry.

Excuse me.

Pardon me.

I beg your pardon. (form)

The formulae presented in 77 can be classified as ritual apologies. In uttering them S is simply fulfilling what is expected of him. They are used to facilitate the interaction between interlocutors (Fraser, 1981). *Przepraszam* is the most neutral form of expressing apology in Polish. It can be used in every kind of situation, irrespective of the distance between interlocutors. In English the variety of forms expressing apology is much greater. *Excuse me* is “a formula to remedy a past or immediately forthcoming breach of etiquette or other minor offence on the part of the speaker” (see also the comment on apologies *ex ante*), while *I'm sorry* is “an expression of dismay or regret at an unpleasantness suffered by the speaker and/or the addressee” (Borkin and Reinhart, 1978:57). In contexts where they are interchangeable, *excuse me* is considered to be more formal than *I'm sorry*, and to put slightly more distance between interlocutors (*ibid.*). *I'm sorry* and *excuse me* together with *I beg your pardon* are most frequently used as mild apologies for routine impolite behaviour (e.g. sneezing, coughing, hiccuping, or burping), or for offences such as slips of the tongue and momentary slips of physical control (e.g. dropping things), bumping into somebody, or contradicting somebody and then being proved wrong (Leech and Svartvik, 1975; Owen, 1983; Blundell et al., 1992).

Ronowicz (1995) claims that Poles apologize less often than native speakers of English for trifles and when they want to express disagreement with other persons (cf. Dąbrowska, 1992).

If the offence is more substantial, S usually wants to make his apology sound stronger and more effective (unless the interlocutors are in a close relationship, in which case a brief apology is sufficient – *przepraszam* or *sorry*, respectively) (Owen, 1983). To achieve that he can resort to one of the five strategies forming the speech act set of apology (Olshtain and Cohen, 1983):

a) the general strategies:

- the IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Device), containing the formulaic forms of apology (containing explicit performative verbs)
- the expression of S's responsibility

b) the situation-specific strategies:

- the explanation, or account, of the situation (cf. Termińska, 1991)
- the offer of repair
- the promise of forbearance.

In addition, Olshtain (1989) proposes three other strategies:

- intensification, by means of using adverbial modification within the IFID

- the expression of concern for H
- minimization of the offence or the harm it may have caused.

In apologizing, S can also use address terms (Vollmer and Olshtain, 1989).

Both Polish and English native speakers make use of the full range of apology strategies, yet the distribution of specific strategies differs. The use of IFID is the most common way of expressing apology. Yet English native speakers are much more often willing to express their responsibility for the offence than Poles are (e.g. 81.d). The explanation of the situation, which is the most common strategy employed in Polish, is relatively infrequent in English. The offer of repair (e.g. *I'll pay for the broken window* and *Ja to naprawię* ("I'll mend it")), which is relevant mainly in the case of physical injury or other damage, is much more frequently used in English than in Polish. The frequency of use of the promise of forbearance (e.g. *It won't happen again* and *To się już więcej nie powtórzy* ("It won't happen again")), offered if the offender could have avoided the offence but did not do so, usually repeatedly, does not differ significantly in Polish and English. The same can be said about concern for H (e.g. *I hope you're not angry* and *Mam nadzieję, że się nie gniewasz* ("I hope you're not angry")) and about minimization of the offence (e.g. *Oh, you shouldn't get insulted* and *Nie ma o co się obrażać* ("There's nothing to get insulted for")). The internal intensification of the IFID is more common in Polish than in English. It is usually realized by means of adverbial modifiers *bardzo* ("very") and *very*, respectively. But they are so common that they have lost their power. Other Polish intensifying adverbial modifiers used in this context are *serdecznie* ("whole-heartedly"), *ogromnie* ("greatly"), *strasznie* ("terribly"), *uprzejmie* ("kindly"), *szalenie* ("awfully"), *cholernie* ("damnably"), the superlative forms *najmocniej* ("most strongly"), *najserdeczniej* ("most whole-heartedly"), *najgoręcej* ("in the hottest way"), and the complex adverbial modifiers like *naprawdę* ("really") + an adverbial modifier, *z całego serca* ("with all my heart"), or *jak najserdeczniej* ("as whole-heartedly as possible") (Ożóg, 1990). In general, the English adverbial intensifiers have similar meaning. English apologies are made more effective when used with the following adverbs: *terribly*, *awfully*, *dreadfully*, and *frightfully* (falling out of use) (Fraser, 1981; Owen, 1983).

In English in the case of slightly more serious offences, strengthening and greater effectiveness of an act of apology may be achieved by explicitly uttering the subject and verb of the sentence *I'm/I am sorry*. The "expansion" of *I'm* to *I am* "emphasizes the idea that the feeling being expressed is indeed experienced by the speaker" (Owen, 1983:70). In Polish, it may be achieved by stressing the adverbial modifier.

To explain the cause of the apology both speakers of Polish and speakers of English use more complex constructions with the verb *przepraszam* and its English equivalents, respectively:

78.

a) Przepraszam za NP.

Strasznie przepraszam za stłuczoną filiżankę.

(“I’m terribly sorry for/about that broken cup.”)

(I’m) sorry about/for NP.

I’m sorry for what I did.

Sorry about that.

Pardon me for V+ing.

Pardon me for interrupting.

b) Przepraszam za V+ing.

Przepraszam za spóźnienie.

(“I’m sorry for being late.”)

Excuse me for V+ing.

Excuse me for not getting you the book I’ve promised.

c) Przepraszam (za to), że S.

Przepraszam (za to), że się spóźniłam.

(“I’m sorry (for) that I’m late.”)

I’m sorry that S.

I’m sorry that I couldn’t come yesterday.

d)

I’m sorry (not) to VP.

I’m sorry not to have come to your classes on Monday.

e) Przepraszam, jeżeli S.

Przepraszam, jeżeli sprawiłem kłopot. (form)

(“I’m sorry if I caused any trouble.”)

I’m sorry if S.

I’m sorry if I have interrupted you. (form)

In very formal situations Poles use constructions with the infinitive *przeprosić* and formulae requesting forgiveness. In the same situations speakers of English use performative formulae with the verb *to apologize* and the formulae requesting forgiveness (79). In general, the more formal the situation is, the longer and more elaborate the apology is (Fraser, 1981).

79. Polish

a) *Chciałbym serdecznie państwa*

przeprosić za spóźnienie.

(“I would like to apologize whole-heartedly to (you)

Ladies and Gentlemen for (my) being late.”)

English

Please, accept my apologies.

I really do apologize.

May I offer you my profoundest apologies.

- b) *Proszę mi wybaczyć.* *Please, forgive me.*
 ("Please, forgive me.")
Proszę o wybaczenie.
 ("I beg (your) forgiveness.")

The formulae in 80 are also direct apologies. Like in the case of other polite imperative formulae they can occur in two forms: T form, used in informal situations, to people we address with *ty* (80) and V form with the verb *proszę*, used in formal situations, to people we address with the title *pan/pani* (cf. 79.b).

80. *Nie gniewaj się.*
 ("Don't be angry with me.")
Nie miej mi za złe.
 ("Don't blame me.")

In spoken language there are some expressions which can be interpreted according to the linguistic etiquette as apologies, even though they do not contain a performative verb. Let us compare some Polish and English indirect apologies:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 81. Polish | English |
| a) <i>Strasznie mi głupio.</i>
("I feel so stupid.") (inf) | <i>How stupid/silly/clumsy of me...</i>
(inf) |
| b) <i>Tak mi przykro.</i>
("I'm so sorry.") | |
| c) <i>Strasznie się czuję z tego powodu.</i>
("I feel terribly because of this.") | <i>I feel bad about it.</i> (inf) |
| d) <i>To moja wina.</i>
("It's my fault.") | <i>That was my fault.</i> (inf) |

In very informal situations (e.g. stepping on a spouse's toes) the speaker of English can apologize by saying simply *oops* (Fraser, 1981).

The object of regret may be indebteding or not. If it is not indebteding, S does not have to recognize any responsibility for the offence. In such cases apologies strongly resemble expressions of sympathy (Borkin and Reinhart, 1978; Coulmas, 1981a). In Polish this kind of apology can be realized by means of the formula presented in 81.b, and in English by means of *I'm sorry*.

Responses to apologies

The recipient (Rc) of an apology is usually expected to respond to the apology. The kind of response he chooses depends on several factors: the object of regret, the relationship between the interlocutors, and the situation in which the apology is uttered. In responding to apologies *ex ante*, people usually reject the need for apologizing or deny the object of regret. *Excuse me* or *przepraszam* used as interruption forms, territory invasion signals or announcements of temporary absence do not require any verbal response (cf. Coulmas 1981a; Jaworski, 1993). The same formulae, on the other hand, require various kinds of non-verbal response: attention-getters make H(s) pay attention to what S is saying, or when S wants to pass in a narrow corridor, he uses these formulae to make H let him pass.

As in the case of responses to thanks, responses to apologies can be divided into two categories: those that recognize the object of regret and are aimed at relieving the offender of its burden (82), and those that deny the existence of such an object or play it down (83) (Coulmas, 1981a; Owen, 1983).

82. Polish	English
a) <i>(Nic) nie szkodzi.</i> ("Never mind.")	<i>Never mind.</i>
b) <i>Nie przejmuj się.</i> (inf) ("Don't be sorry.")	<i>Please don't be (sorry).</i>
c) <i>Daj spokój (z tym przeproszaniem).</i> ("Stop (apologizing).") (inf) (Ożóg, 1990:53)	<i>Think nothing of it.</i> <i>Please don't give it another thought.</i> <i>Forget it.</i> (inf)
d) <i>W porządku.</i> ("OK.") (inf) Dobra. ("OK.") (very inf)	<i>That's OK.</i> (inf) <i>That's all right.</i> (inf)
e) <i>To naprawdę nie ma znaczenia.</i> ("It really doesn't matter.")	<i>It doesn't matter.</i>
83. Polish	English
a) <i>Nie ma za co.</i> ("There is nothing to apologize for.")	<i>Not at all.</i> <i>What for?</i> (very inf) <i>There is no reason to apologize.</i> (form)

- b) *Nic się nie stało.*
 (“Nothing happened.”)
Nie ma sprawy. (inf)
 (“Nothing happened.”)
- c) *To nic.*
 (“It’s nothing.”)
Drobnostka. (inf)
Glupstwo. (inf)
 (“A trifle.”)
- d) *Naprawdę, nie musisz przeproszać.*
 (“Really, you don’t have to apologize.”)
- e) (*Naprawdę*), *nie trzeba.* (form)
 (“(Really), it is not necessary.”)
- No harm done.* (Owen, 1983:138)
- It’s nothing.*
- Don’t apologize.*
- That’s really not necessary.* (form)
No apology necessary. (form)

When Rc of an apology feels hurt or offended, but does not want to show it, he can say: *Let’s forget it*, which can be compared to the Polish form *No cóż! Trudno!* (Ożóg, 1990; Blundell et al., 1992).

He can say *dziękuję* or *thank you*, respectively, as a response when the object of regret is a serious one, or when the offender has already done some remedial work (Owen, 1983).

When somebody apologizes for routine impolite behaviour, slips of physical control, or slips of the tongue, which as such are threatening to his face, the most polite response is remaining silent, because any verbal response acknowledging the object of regret would be an FTA to the offender’s face (Jaworski, 1993).

As may be observed, in both languages the use of apologies and responses to apologies and their form are strictly determined by context. The same can be said about the other polite formulae discussed above, all of them constituting the group of primary polite formulae.

Within the group of secondary polite formulae, which will be presented in the next chapter, this differs. The first formulae to be discussed, namely compliments, are used more freely and are more diverse.

3.2. Secondary polite formulae

3.2.1. Compliments and responses to compliments

Compliments

There are many definitions of the word *compliment*. *Słownik języka polskiego* (Szymczak, 1978: Vol. I, 978) defines the word *komplement* (“compliment”) as “polite, often exaggerated praising; flattery”. What is flattery?, someone might ask. The same source defines it as “words flattering someone’s self-esteem, meant for getting into someone’s favour” (ibid.:Vol. II, 715). By definition Polish compliments are not insincere, but they can be exaggerated and the compliment giver (G) always has good reasons to utter them. *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1987:205) defines compliments as expressions “of praise, admiration, or respect”. In this definition there is nothing about insincerity, either, not to mention elements of flattery present in the Polish definition, which is interesting because in most cases complimenting entails insincerity. Definitions may differ. What is universal in the concept of compliment is the fact that compliments like apologies “are speech acts which pay attention to the ‘face’ needs of the addressee” (Holmes, 1989:195; Goffman, 1967), and they are FSAs. Compliments differ from apologies in that the former “focus on the addressee’s positive face wants”, while the latter “are generally aimed at face-redress associated with FTAs” (Holmes, 1989:196).

Although compliments, are more diverse than the formulae of greeting, thanking, or apologizing, they are also highly lexicalized and no longer as meaningful as they used to be. This refers both to Polish and English compliments (84).

- | 84. Polish | English |
|--|---|
| a) <i>Świetnie wyglądasz.</i>
(“You look great.”) | <i>You look very nice.</i>
<i>You are looking great.</i> |
| b) <i>Podoba mi się twoja fryzura.</i>
(“I like your hair-do.”) | <i>I like your hairstyle!</i> |
| c) <i>Ta sukienka jest szalowa.</i>
(“This dress is terrific.”) | <i>It’s really terrific.</i> |

Comparing Polish and English formulae we can see a great similarity of syntactic patterns. In Table 1 we can see the three major syntactic patterns of compliment formulae.

TABLE 1. MAJOR SYNTACTIC PATTERNS OF COMPLIMENTS

Polish	English
a) NP $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{jest} \\ \text{wygląda} \end{array} \right\}$ naprawdę $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adj} \\ \text{Adv} \end{array} \right\}$	NP is/looks (really) Adj
b) NP mi się naprawdę podoba	I really like/love NP
c) To (jest) naprawdę Adj NP (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989:77)	PRO is (really) a Adj NP (Wolfson, 1983:85)

Yet there are some other syntactic patterns of compliment formulae which also quite frequent (Table 2). Also in the case of the less frequent compliment formulae there exists a great similarity both in their form and in their “almost a lack of originality” (Wolfson, 1992:115).

TABLE 2. OTHER SYNTACTIC PATTERNS OF COMPLIMENTS

Polish	English
a) (Naprawdę) V(ty/Pan) Adj NP <i>Odwalileś kawał dobrej roboty.</i> ("You did a good job.")	You V (a) (really) Adj NP <i>You did a good job.</i>
b) (Naprawdę) V(ty/Pan) Adv <i>Świetnie się spisaleś.</i> ("You made a good job of it.")	You V (NP) (really) Adv <i>You really handled that situation well.</i>
c) Masz Adj NP <i>Masz takie piękne włosy.</i> ("You have such beautiful hair.")	You have (a) (Adj) NP <i>You have such beautiful hair.</i>
d) Co za $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ Adj NP Ale $\left. \begin{array}{l} \\ \end{array} \right\}$ <i>Ale ładna spódnica.</i> ("What a nice skirt.")	What (a) Adj NP <i>What a lovely baby you have!</i>
e) Adj NP <i>Dobra zagrywka!</i> ("Good shot.")	Adj NP <i>Nice game!</i>
f) Czyż nie (jest) Adj (NP) <i>Czyż nie jest piękny!</i> ("Isn't it beautiful?")	Isn't NP Adj <i>Isn't your ring beautiful!</i> <i>Isn't it pretty!</i> (Wolfson, 1993:78)

Enumerating the five most frequent adjectives used in American English compliments, namely *nice*, *good*, *beautiful*, *pretty*, and *great* Wolfson (1983:85) claims that the first two “have such weak semantic load that they can hardly be said to have any meaning more specific than positive evaluation. Thus, they may be appropriately used to modify virtually any topic imaginable”. The most frequent adjectives used in Polish compliments are the following: *ładny* (“nice”), *dobry* (“good”), *piękny* (“beautiful”), *świetny* (“excellent”), and *wspaniały* (“great”). Everything that Wolfson says about the adjectives in American English compliments can also be said about the adjectives in Polish compliments. The most frequent adverb in American English compliments is *well* (Wolfson, 1983:86), while in Polish compliments we have its Polish equivalent *dobrze* (“well”), *świetnie* (“excellently”), and *wspaniale* (“superbly”).

Compliments in different languages may differ not only in their structures, but also in the functions they serve, and in their frequency of occurrence. The use of compliment formulae is pragmatically motivated. One of the major, and perhaps universal, functions of compliments is making H feel good.

Another major function of compliments is creating and maintaining solidarity between interlocutors (Manes and Wolfson, 1981; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989). Manes (1983) calls compliments “social lubricants”. This function is visible both in Polish and English data. Compliments can also be used in other functions. They can be used:

- to open a conversation (Wolfson, 1983)
- to be a part of or to replace greetings (ibid.) (85)
- to strengthen or to replace apologies (ibid.)
- to strengthen or to replace thanks (ibid.) (86).

85.

a) *Ale szalowa dziewczyna z ciebie! Cześć! Jak się masz?*
 (“What a smashing girl you are! Hi! How are you?”)

b) *Great!*

You look terrific.

86.

a) *Jaki śliczny krawat! Bardzo dziękuję.*
 (“What a nice tie! Thank you very much.”)

b) *Thanks for the present. It's beautiful.*

We can resort to complimenting G if we want to express our gratitude indirectly (87). We use compliments to soften criticism (88) (Herbert 1989) or to make an indirect request (Herbert, 1989; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989). It is not uncommon that before we make a request, we try to lay the

foundation by complimenting H or one of his belongings (89). This use of compliments is a little more common among Poles than among native speakers of English.

87.

a) *Jest Pan bardzo uprzejmy.*
(“You are very kind.”)

b) *That was really nice of you.*

88.

a) *Bardzo dobre wypracowanie, ale mógłbyś zwracać trochę więcej uwagi na interpunkcję.*
(“It’s a very good composition, but you could have paid more attention to punctuation.”)

b) *You’ve done a good job but please don’t break the rules again.*

89.

a) A: *Przepyszna tę salatkę zrobiłaś.*
(“You made an excellent salad.”)

B: *Cieszę się, że ci smakuje. Czy mogłabym ci jeszcze dołożyć?*
(“I’m glad you like it. Would you like some more?”)

b) A: *I like those pants.*

B: *Well, you can borrow them any time.*

A: *I like your shirt.*

B: *You want to borrow this one too?*

(Herbert, 1989:17)

It is more typical of native speakers of English to use compliments to reinforce the desired result (90), and this is caused mainly by the “teaching through encouragement (and compliments)” (Wolfson, 1983:87), which is deeply rooted in American educational traditions.

90.

a) *Joe, you did an excellent job on the report last night.*
(Manes, 1983:97)

b) *John found out what the homework was, somehow, I don’t know how. But that’s great, John.* (ibid.)

This function is not very popular among Poles. The main reason is that they have a completely different attitude to praising and complimenting in general.

Many Poles do not approve of complimenting at all. The style of “teaching through encouragement (and compliments)” is most often used with pre-school or primary-school children (91).

91.

a) *Narysowałeś wspaniały samochód. Ja w twoim wieku nie potrafiłem jeszcze tak ładnie rysować.*

(“You have drawn a beautiful car. At your age I was not able to draw so well.”)

Both in Polish and English it is quite a common situation that a comment having the pattern of a compliment is easily turned into an insult or a reprimand. The comments in example 92 can be intended either as jokes or as reprimands. The intention must be expressed by the tone of voice.

92.

a) *Dobra robota! Nie widziałem jeszcze tak spalonego placka.*

(“Good job! I have never seen so burnt a cake.”)

b) *I really like the way you went through that stop sign.*

(Wolfson, 1983:92)

Compliments do not have to be sincere, and usually they are not. That is why they can be called “social lies” (Coleman and Kay, 1981, after Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989). This feature of compliments is universal. What differs cross-culturally is S’s attitude towards it. It is quite frequent among Poles that when S wants his favourable comment about H or about his belongings to sound truthful and convincing, he says that it is not a compliment, it is true. Native speakers of English admit to insincerity on certain occasions and do not treat compliments so seriously as Poles do. Perhaps this is caused by the fact that native speakers of English, especially Americans, use compliments much more often than Poles do (cf. Wolfson, 1983; Herbert, 1989).

However, we can quite often hear light-hearted responses to compliments like those in example 93.

93.

a) A: *Twoje włosy mają kolor starego złota.*

(“Your hair has the colour of old gold.”)

B: *Ale z Ciebie komplementarz.*

(“What a flatterer you are.”)

b) A: *Wow! That was brilliant!*

B: *Flattery’ll get you nowhere!*

To Poles, native speakers of English often seem to use elaborate language to compliment things that deserve no more than a mention. Poles, on the other hand, are much more reserved in giving praise when it is not deserved (Ronowicz, 1995).

Complimenting formulae can be divided into direct and indirect ones. English direct compliments are realized by the formulae containing the verb *to compliment*. The forms presented in example 94 are very rarely used, and usually only in very formal situations (see Blundell et al., 1992).

94.

a) *I must praise you for your efficiency.*

b) *I have to compliment you on your hairstyle.*
(Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 1989:85)

c) *My compliments on...* (FIE)

In Polish direct compliments are never used, even though there exist the verb *komplementować* (“to compliment”) and the phrase *prawić komplementy* (“to pay compliments”).

Responses to compliments

Paying compliments does not require as much tact and sociocultural competence as responding to them. Rc of a compliment, even though positively evaluated by G, is at the same time put in a difficult situation. To be polite he has to follow the rules of politeness, which in the case of responses to compliments, on the one hand require that he should agree with the compliment of G, while on the other hand require that he should avoid self-praise (cf. Owen, 1983).

Pomerantz (1978) proposed a taxonomy of compliment response types:

TABLE 3. TAXONOMY OF COMPLIMENT RESPONSE TYPES

(Pomerantz, 1978)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Acceptances | |
| a) Appreciation Token (<i>Thank you</i>) | |
| b) Agreement | A: X
B: I think the same |
| c) Praise Upgrades | A: X is good
B: X is very good |
| 2. Rejections | |
| a) Disagreement | A: X
B: I don't think the same |
| 3. Self-praise Avoidance | |
| a) Praise Downgrades | |
| • agreement | A: X is very good |
| • disagreement | B: X is good |
| b) Referent Shifts | |
| • reassignment of praise | A: I want to say something (Y) about (X) |
| • return | B: I want to say it (Y) about something other than X |

(Wierzbicka, 1991:137)

The English etiquette-book responses to compliments are what Pomerantz (1978:83) calls Appreciation Tokens (*thank you, thanks, thank you so much, and well thank you*). Sometimes Rc of a compliment expresses also his agreement with G's comment (95.b). Pomerantz (1978) claims that this type of response is "very prevalent". In conversation, a person with whom G of a compliment is in very close relation may even increase the complimentary force of the previous comment, at the same time violating the constraint to avoid self-praise (95.c). If Rc of a compliment does not want to accept it, usually he directly disagrees with G's comment (95.d), e.g. by pointing to "hidden flaws". He may try to downgrade, or in other words, to decrease the praise of himself (95.e). 95.f is an example of self-praise avoidance when Rc disagrees partly with the previous complimentary comment. Pomerantz (1978:99) defines this kind of response "as seconds to compliments [...] frequently marked as qualifications of the prior compliments rather than directly contrastive counterassertions". Disagreement markers used with such qualifications include "though", "yet", and "but". The other way to avoid self-praise is to shift the credit from oneself to another referent (95.g and h). The Polish responses to compliments can be put into the same categories (96).

95.

a) A: *That's beautiful.*

B: *Thank you.*

- b) A: *Oh, it was just beautiful.*
 B: *Well thank you. I thought it was quite nice.*
- c) A: *Isn't he cute?*
 B: *Oh, he's adorable.*
- d) A: *You did a great job cleaning up the house.*
 B: *Well, I guess you have not seen the kids' room.*
- e) A: *That's fantastic.*
 B: *Isn't that good?*
- f) A: *Good shot.*
 B: *Not very solid though.*
- g) A: *You're a good rower, Honey.*
 B: *These are very easy to row. Very light.*
- h) A: *Yer lookin good.*
 B: *So'r you.*

(Pomerantz, 1978:84–105)

96.

- a) A: *Świetnie dzisiaj wyglądasz.*
 (“You look great today.”)
 B: *Dziękuję.*
 (“Thank you.”)
- b) A: *Ale szalowa torebka.*
 (“What a smashing handbag.”)
 B: (hesitation) *Dziękuję. Mnie też się bardzo podoba.*
 (“Thank you. I like it very much, too.”)
- c) A: *Bardzo ładnie, że zdałeś ten egzamin.*
 (“It's nice that you've passed this exam.”)
 B: *Czyż nie jestem genialny?* (“Am I not a genius?”)
- d) A: *Bardzo ładny ten sweter zrobiłaś.*
 (“The sweater you've knitted is very nice.”)
 B: *Nie gadaj głupstw. Popatrz jaki krzywy ścieg!*
 (“Don't talk nonsense. Look! What uneven stitches!”)
- e) A: *Przepyszny jest ten placek.*
 (“This cake is delicious.”)
 B: *Wydaje mi się, że mi całkiem nieźle wyszedł.*
 (“It seems to me that I baked it all right.”)
- f) A: *Dobrze mu odpowiedziałeś.*
 (“You talked back to him very well.”)

B: *On tego nie zrozumiał.*
("He didn't understand a word.")

g) A: *Fajną sobie tę sukienkę uszyłaś.*
("You've sewn a tip-top dress.")

B: *Gdybym nie miała takiej rewelacyjnej maszyny, nic by z tego nie wyszło.*
("If I hadn't had such a marvellous sewing machine, it would not have worked out.")

h) A: *Do twarzy ci z tym kokiem.*
("That bun suits you.")

B: *Dziękuję. Tobie też ładnie w tej fryzurze.*
("Thank you. That hair-do suits you, too.")

To the taxonomy proposed by Pomerantz, Herbert (1989) added four more categories, namely *Comment History*, *Question Response*, *No Acknowledgement*, and *Request Interpretation* (89.b). In the *Comment History* type of response, Rc agrees with the complimentary comment, and tries to impersonalize its complimentary force by giving various details (97.a, 98.a). *Question Responses* are usually intended either to provoke "an expansion/upgrade of the original assertion" or "to question the sincerity/motives" of G of the compliment (97.b, 98.b). By using the *No Acknowledgement* type of response Rc does not accept the complimentary force of the comment and tries to change the topic of the conversation (97.c, 98.c).

97.

a) A: *I love that outfit.*

B: *I got it for the trip to Arizona.*

b) A: *Nice sweater.*

B: *You like it?*

c) A: *That's a beautiful sweater.*

B: *Did you finish the assignment for today?*

(Herbert, 1989:13–17)

98.

a) A: *Ale masz fikuśne buty. Fantastyczne.*

("What funny shoes you have. Fantastic.")

B: *Mama mi je kupiła w Warszawie.*

("My mother bought them for me in Warsaw.")

b) A: *To bardzo interesujące wypracowanie.*

("That's a very interesting composition.")

B: *Naprawdę się pani podoba?*

("Do you really like it?")

- c) A: *Masz piękne oczy.*
 (“You have beautiful eyes.”)
 B: *Czy skończyłeś pisać ten list?*
 (“Have you finished writing this letter?”)

As can be seen in the examples presented above, Polish responses to compliments can be put into the same categories as their English counterparts, but their frequency of occurrence differs. Self-praise-avoiding responses are prevalent, especially those which downgrade the praise of Rc, or which reject the compliment or disagree with its force. However, in recent years Poles (especially young ones) have shown a growing tendency to agree with compliments.

Example 99 is one more kind of response, called by the author *Indirect Self-Praise* in which Rc of a compliment sounds very conceited, accepts the comment, and agrees with it and at the same time shows his deep conviction that it is truthful. Such a response is possible only between close friends, peers, or sometimes in jocular contexts.

99. A: *Ostatnio bardzo ładnie wyglądasz.*
 (“You look very nice recently.”)
 B: *Wiem.*
 (“I know.”) (meaning: I agree with you. I think the same.)

Unlike Poles and the English, Americans often respond to thanks for compliments by means of the formula *you're welcome*.

There are special kinds of compliments which are always insincere, namely *white lies*. If one wants to be polite and not to hurt the feelings of H in the sense of positive politeness and spare him/her feelings of embarrassment and shame, one has to resort to telling white lies. So white lies and their Polish equivalent *grzecznościowe kłamstwa* (“polite lies”) are formulae pragmatically motivated (Ożóg, 1990) (100).

100.
 a) A: *Jak Państwu smakował obiad?*
 (“Did you enjoy the dinner?”)
 B: *Przepyszny.*
 (“Delicious.”) (Even if you did not enjoy it at all.)
 b) A: *Podoba ci się krawat?* (given by A as a birthday present)
 (“Do you like the tie?”)
 B: *Piękny. Takiego właśnie szukałem.*
 (“Beautiful. That’s just what I’ve been looking for.”) (Even if you find it terrible.)

White lies in Polish and English are used in more or less the same contexts which depend on idiosyncratic rather than cultural factors. The frequency of their occurrence is conditioned by the relationship between interlocutors. The

more formal the relationship between interlocutors is, the more white lies they use.

Besides these differences, white lies are difficult to distinguish from compliments, unless we know whether S is sincere or not. The same kind of “polite insincerity” is sometimes present in congratulations. Some congratulations, like some compliments, may be sincere. The differences between these two kinds of polite formulae will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.2.2. Congratulations and responses to congratulations

Congratulations

It is very difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between compliments and congratulations. Congratulations can be treated as compliments given after different kinds of performance on the part of H (Wolfson, 1983). Only the phenomena complimented on or congratulated on differ, and sometimes they overlap. Thus, we compliment our interlocutors on their appearance, possessions, good work, etc., but we may congratulate them on good work, achievements, a newly-born child, etc.

Like compliments, congratulations are used to realize certain functions in the conversation. They are used:

- to create a friendly atmosphere in the conversation (Ożóg, 1990)
- to create solidarity between interlocutors (ibid.)
- to open a conversation
- to be a part of or to replace greetings
- to reprimand H for bad behaviour or to insult him (101).

101.

a) *Gratuluje. Nie można już tego było bardziej zepsuć.*

(“I congratulate (you). You couldn’t have spoiled it more.”)

b) *Congratulations. What have you done with your hair?*

As with most polite formulae, congratulations can be expressed directly or indirectly. Both in Polish and in English direct formulae are frequent especially in formal situations (Ożóg, 1990; Blundell et al., 1992) (102 and 103, except for 102.f, which is restricted to informal situations, and 102.g and 103.d, which can be used in every context).

102.

- a) *Gratuluję panu tak udanego wystąpienia.*
("I congratulate you on such a good presentation.")
- b) *Szczerze gratuluję nowego samochodu.*
("I sincerely congratulate (you) on a new car.")
- c) *Gratuluję z okazji urodzin syna.*
("I congratulate (you) on the birth of your son.")
- d) *Proszę przyjąć moje najszczerze gratulacje.*
("Please, accept my most sincere congratulations.")
- e) *Niech mi będzie wolno pogratulować panu.*
("Let me congratulate you.")
- f) *No to, pogratulować. Naprawdę udało ci się.*
("So. I congratulate you. You really did it.")
- g) *Gratulacje.*
("Congratulations.")

103.

- a) *I must congratulate you.*
- b) *Let me congratulate you.*
- c) *Please, accept my warmest congratulations.*
- d) *Congratulations.*

There are some differences in the syntactic patterns of Polish and English direct congratulating formulae (see Tables 4 and 5).

TABLE 4. POLISH DIRECT CONGRATULATION PATTERNS

- a) (Adv modifier) gratuluję (word of address) { (NP) (102.a,b,c)
(z okazji...)
- b) Gratulacje (z okazji...) (102.g)
- c) (No to) pogratulować (NP) (102.f), or other...
- d) Constructions with the noun *gratulacje* (102.d)

TABLE 5. ENGLISH DIRECT CONGRATULATION PATTERNS

- a) I must }
Let me } congratulate you (on...) (103.a,b)
(Other constructions)
- b) Congratulations (on...) (103.d)
- c) Please, accept my (Adv modifier) congratulations (103.c)

In informal situations Polish congratulations usually take the form of indirect formulae which, nevertheless, can be interpreted as such by H. English indirect formulae are also used in informal situations (104).

104. Polish	English
a) <i>Ogromnie się cieszę.</i> ("I'm extremely delighted.")	<i>I was delighted to hear you've got a new job.</i>
b) <i>To fantastycznie.</i> ("That's fantastic.")	<i>Fantastic!/Terrific!</i>
c) <i>Dobra robota.</i> ("Good job.")	<i>Well done!</i>
d) <i>Co ja słyszę. Ale sukces.</i> ("What I hear. What a success.")	<i>It was great to hear...</i>

As mentioned before we offer congratulations on something that H did or achieved; in English this usually does not include personal belongings, e.g. car, house, etc. which can be congratulated on in Polish (102.b). As we have to respond to compliments, we have to respond to congratulations.

Responses to congratulations

Congratulation responses do not differ much from compliment responses. They are also realized mainly by Appreciation Tokens. In Polish self-praise-avoiding responses are very frequent, especially those which downgrade the praise of R, or which reject the congratulations or disagree with their force, while in English R most frequently agrees with congratulations. As we can see in the above analysis, congratulations and responses to them do not differ much from compliments and responses to compliments. Congratulations and compliments, unless they are insincere, express positive feelings of S towards H. S's positive feelings towards H are also expressed in good wishes, which differ, among other respects, in that they are more often sincere than compliments and congratulations. Other differences and similarities between them will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.2.3. Good wishes and responses to good wishes

Good wishes

Good wishes like apologies, compliments and congratulations are used to save H's face, and can be called FSAs. Like compliments and congratulations, they focus on H's positive face wants, creating solidarity between interlocutors. This refers to all kinds of wishes in all languages. However, on many occasions, wishes, like other polite formulae (e.g. compliments, congratulations) arise out of insincerity and are used only out of conventionality.

105. Polish

Wszystkiego najlepszego.

(“All the best.”)

English

All the best.

Very common formulae (105), both in Polish and English, are often used in this way, and that is why they are highly lexicalized and no longer as meaningful as they used to be.

A) General good wishes

Both Polish and English speakers wish one another success and good luck (106.a–d). The formulae used are similar not only in their content but also in their form. The more formal the formulae are the more complicated they become. Both in Polish and in English the formal formulae contain the performative verb *życzyć* (“to wish”) and *to wish*, respectively. Wishing H something good is often connected with expressing S's hope that the wish will come true, although it does not have to be expressed directly (106.e).

106. Polish

a) *Sukcesów w pracy!*

(“A lot of success in (your)
job!”)

English

Every success in your new job!

b) *Życzę sukcesów.* (form)

(“I wish (you) a lot of success.”)

*I'd like to wish you every success in
your new job.* (form)

I wish you success. (form)

- c) *Powodzenia!* *Good luck! (inf)*
 (“Good luck!”)
Życzę powodzenia. (form)
 (“I wish (you) good luck.”)
- d) *Pomyślności!*
 (“The best of luck!”)
- e) *Mam nadzieję, że wszystko będzie w porządku.* *I hope everything goes well.*
 (“I hope everything will be all right.”)
Wszystko będzie w porządku/OK. *Hope things go well. (inf)*
 (inf)
 (“Everything will be all right/OK.”)

As mentioned above, the content of general good wishes does not differ in the two languages. For example, we wish our interlocutor(s) a good time on various special occasions on which having a good time is usually expected (107). The adjectives used in such formulae are also comparable. In Polish we employ the following adjectives in such contexts: *dobry* (“good”), *miły* (“nice”), *przyjemny* (“pleasant”), and *udany* (“successful”). In English formulae expressing good wishes one can find adjectives such as *good*, *nice*, *pleasant*, and *enjoyable* (107). Other words and phrases are also similar: Polish *bawić się* (“to enjoy oneself”) and English *to enjoy oneself*, or a good *to have a good time*; Polish *zabawa* (“fun”) and English *fun*, *a good time*, or a good *party*.

- | 107. Polish | English |
|---|---|
| a) <i>Mam nadzieję, że będziecie się dobrze bawić.</i>
(“I hope you will have a good time.”) | <i>(I hope you) have a good time.</i> |
| b) <i>Miłych/udanych/przyjemnych wakacji!</i>
(“(Have) nice/successful/pleasant holidays!”) | <i>Have a good/pleasant/enjoyable holiday.</i> |
| c) <i>Baw się dobrze!</i> (inf) | <i>Enjoy yourself!</i> (inf) |
| d) <i>(Życzę) milej zabawy.</i>
(“(I wish you to) have fun.”) | <i>Have fun!</i> (inf)
<i>Have a good party!</i> |

The formulae presented in example 108 are used when S wants H to pass his good wishes on to a third person. This situation requires taking into consideration two aspects of interpersonal communication, namely the distance between interlocutors and the distance between S and the third person. In fact, the first aspect is more decisive, because the greater the distance between interlocutors is, the more formal the wishes are; the other aspect is of secondary importance. In Polish two forms of wishes exist, differing in the distance between interlocutors. In short, we can say that there are:

- the form which is used when S speaks to friends, his equals, or young people, those whom he addresses with *ty*
- the form which is used when S speaks to those who are not his friends, equals, or who are not young enough, those whom he addresses with the title *pan/pani*.

Thus, Poles use either the familiar imperative form (108.a) or its incomplete version without a performative verb (108.b) or the formal imperative form, beginning with *proszę* (“please”) (108.c).

108. Polish

a) *Przekaż ode mnie najlepsze życzenia Pani Kasi.*

(“Give my best wishes to Ms Kasia.”)

b) *Pozdrowienia dla Oli.* (inf)

(“Regards to Ola.”)

Pozdrów Jolę. (inf)

(“Give my love to Jola.”)

Ucalowania dla Tomka.

(“Kisses for Tomek.”)

c) *Proszę przekazać małżonce wyrazy szacunku.* (very form)

(“Please give my regards to your wife.”)

Proszę przekazać moje

uszanowanie Panu Kazimierzowi.

(form)

(“Please give my respects to Mr Kazimierz.”)

Ukłony dla męża. (form)

(“(Give) my regards to (your) husband.”)

English

Give my best wishes to Adam.

Please remember me to Alex.

Regards to Jane. (inf)

Say hello to Adam from me. (inf)

Give my love to Ann. (inf)

Please convey my best wishes to Professor Carpenter. (very form)

Would you give Mr Mashadro my kind regards? (form)

In Polish, passing one's good wishes on to a third person requires using the words expressing best wishes (*najlepsze życzenia*), love (*pozdrowienia*), and respect (*szacunek, uszanowanie, and ukłony*). The Polish formulae in 108.c are mostly used in conversations with elderly and respectable persons. As we can see the English formulae do not differ much from the Polish ones, but they are less diverse. In English, we can pass on best wishes, regards, or love to a third person.

An interlocutor's sneezing is also a good occasion to express one's good wishes. When a Pole sneezes, some people react verbally to it (109), and some do not. But wishing H good health in such a situation makes the interaction between interlocutors more friendly (cf. Jaworski, 1993). The use of the respective formulae in English (109) is also optional (Tannen and Öztek, 1981). Both in Polish and in English the use of the formulae has the same origin: in former times, there was a belief that sneezing was the sign of the soul escaping, or a sign of illness (see Saville-Troike, 1982). Both the Polish formulae and the English formula of German origin, *Gesundheit!*, are expressions wishing good health to a person who sneezes. *Sto lat!* is a formula wishing someone a hundred years to live. It can also be used in other contexts:

- as a good wish given on special occasions (e.g. anniversaries, birthdays, or name-days); it is usually sung, (see 115.c)
- as a toast (see Subsection 3.2.4.).

Using the formula (*God*) *bless you* S asks God's favour for the person sneezing and in this way wishes him happiness.

109. Polish	English
<i>Na zdrowie!</i>	<i>Gesundheit!</i>
(“To (your) health!”)	
<i>Sto lat!</i>	(<i>God</i>) <i>bless you!</i>
(“One hundred years!”)	

Sometimes it is difficult to tell the difference between greeting and farewell formulae, and good wishes, between formulae expressing “affirmation” and formulae expressing “welfarewish” (Firth, 1972, after Ferguson, 1981). Good wishes used as greeting or farewell formulae are remnants of the magic function of language (Ożóg, 1990). The formulae in example 110.a, even though used as farewell formulae, are of “welfarewish” character. The forms of the Polish formulae in 110.a–c are indicative of that too; *Milego dnia!*, *Dobrej nocy!*, and *Szczęśliwej podróży!* all have the genitive form which is suitable for direct objects following the verb *życzyć* in Polish. In the last twenty years, the formula *Good day* (110.a) has reappeared in American English; it can be used at meeting or parting, but it differs from other greeting or farewell formulae in that the response to it is characteristic of wishes rather than of greeting or farewell formulae (Ferguson, 1981). This can be explained by the fact that in its obsolete

full form it was a wish: *God (give) you good day* (*The Compact Oxford English Dictionary, 1991*).

110. Polish

a) (*Życzę*) *milego dnia!* (Gen)
("I wish you a good day!")

b) (*Życzę*) *dobrej nocy!* (Gen)
("I wish you a good night!")
Dobranoc! (Nom)
("Good night!")

c) (*Życzę ci*) *milej/szczęśliwej podróży.*
(Gen)
("I wish you a happy/nice
journey.")

English

(Have a) good day!

Good night!

Have a good journey.

111. Polish

a) A: *Dobry wieczór.*
("Good evening.")
B: *Dobry wieczór.*

b) A: *Milego dnia!*
B: *Dziękuję, nawzajem/wzajemnie.*
("Thank you, the same to
you.")

English

A: *Good evening.*

B: *Good evening.*

A: *Have a good day!*

B: *You too.*

Good morning is in origin a "welfarewish", *May you have a good morning*, but it can be treated as an "affirmation" (Ferguson, 1981:25). The same refers to the Polish formula in 110.b; it is in origin a "welfarewish", but now it is mainly treated as an "affirmation". The same may be said about *good evening* and *goodbye*, which in their obsolete full form were good wishes: *God give you good even* and *God be with you*, respectively (*The Compact Oxford English Dictionary, 1991*). However, the latter is used in its full form only between Catholics especially in Ireland and is reciprocated like other wishes. The formulae appealing to God to favour H can be found both in English and Polish (cf. Adamowski, 1992). In both languages they are considered obsolete, and are mainly used by elderly people (except for *God bless (you)*). Nevertheless, they are much more numerous in Polish, which can be explained by the fact that the majority of Poles are Catholics.

112.

a) *Bóg z tobą!* ("God be with you!")

b) *Niech (cię) Bóg prowadzi.* ("May God lead (you).")

- c) *Z Bogiem*. (“With God.”)
- d) *Z Panem Bogiem*. (“With Lord God.”)
- e) *Szczęście Boże*. (“May God bring you a lot of luck.”)
- f) *Daj Boże zdrowie*. (“May God keep (you) in good health.”)

In spite of the apparent formal similarity between the Polish formula in 112.a and English *God be with you*, they differ in meaning. In Polish the formula expresses the end of a grudge against somebody, or simply means “don’t bother me!” (Szymczak, 1978), while the formulae in 112.b, c and e are close in meaning to *God bless (you)*. 112.b and c are farewell formulae wishing H good luck. 112.e is a formula wishing H fruitful work, usually used by peasants when meeting in the fields. 112.d, which is almost identical formally with 112.c, means “go away” (Szymczak, 1978). Similar in meaning to *God bless (you)* is also the formula in 112.f, wishing H good health and good luck. The formula *God bless (you)* is used at parting, or e.g. when putting a child to bed; it is similar in meaning to *God be with you*, but it is much more popular and used not only by Catholics.

Other Polish farewell formulae expressing wishes have the form of an imperative (Ożóg, 1990). They are very close both in their form and meaning to some English imperative formulae expressing wishes (112).

113. Polish	English
<i>Trzymaj się!</i> (inf) (“Keep (in good health)!”)	<i>Take care!</i> (inf)
<i>Bywaj zdrow!</i> (inf) (“Keep well!”)	
<i>Uważaj (na siebie)!</i> (inf) (“Look after (yourself)!”)	<i>Look after yourself!</i> (inf)

When somebody is going to face a challenge, e.g. to take an examination, he can be greeted with the formula *złamanie karku*(Gen)/*złam kark* (“(I wish you to) break (your) neck.” or “break (your) neck.”), or in the case of taking a written examination *złamanie pióra*(Gen) (“(I wish to) break (your) pen.”). There exists a superstition that does not allow Rc to thank the wisher for such wishes in order not to get bewitched, so *nie dziękuję* (“I don’t/can’t thank you.”) is the usual response to them. They can be compared to English *break a leg*, the wish used when somebody is going on stage; but this formula does not have to be responded to at all. However, all of them have something in common – an element of magic (cf. Adamowski, 1992). This is also present in the formula *będę trzymać kciuki* (“I shall keep my thumbs.”) and its English equivalent *I’ll keep my fingers*

crossed, which are not typical wishes, but express hope for the best, that nothing will happen to upset H's plans.

B) Wishes on special occasions

The formulae used to express good wishes on special occasions are not so numerous as those of general good wishes. This is due to the limited number of special occasions on which we usually express good wishes. This does not differ much across cultures. Poles as well as speakers of English give someone good wishes on:

- church holidays: Christmas and Easter
- various anniversaries (e.g. a wedding anniversary)
- someone's birthday.

In addition to birthdays (which are celebrated mainly by children, very young people and in those regions of Poland which were in former times under the influence of German culture), Poles also celebrate name-days.

Church holidays' wishes are highly stereotyped formulae (114); however, sometimes some alterations are possible.

114. Polish

English

a) *Wszystkiego najlepszego z okazji Świąt!*

("All the best on the occasion of (Christmas/Easter) Holidays!")

b) *Wesołych Świąt (Bożego Narodzenia)!*

("Merry (Christmas) Holidays!")

Wesołych Świąt i szczęśliwego Nowego Roku!

("Merry (Christmas) Holidays and a happy New Year!")

Have a good Christmas!

A merry Christmas and a happy New Year!

Happy Christmas! (inf)

c) *Szczęśliwego Nowego Roku!*

("Happy New Year!")

Do siego roku!

("Till the next year!")

Happy New Year! (inf)

- d) *Wesołych Świąt (Wielkanocnych/
Wielkiej Nocy)!* *Happy Easter!*
 ("Merry (Easter) Holidays!")
- e) *Smacznego jajka!*
 ("(Have a) tasty (Easter)
 Egg!")

As we can see from the above examples, the Polish and English formulae used on church holidays are very similar. Yet there are some exceptions: the formula in 114.a is, in fact, a general good wish which is specified by the phrase *z okazji* ("on the occasion of"); the formula *Do siego roku!*, which is very old, but not outdated, and contains the old Polish word meaning "that", expresses the wish for H to live till the next year (Szymczak, 1978); the formula *Smacznego jajka!* is only used in jocular contexts, among friends. What is interesting about the Polish formulae (114.a,b,d) is that their most common form is neutral, i.e. the only word specifying the occasion is *święta* ("religious holidays"), as the occasion itself is obvious.

115. Polish

- a) *Wszystkiego najlepszego z okazji
rocznicy ślubu/urodzin/imienin!*
 ("All the best on the occasion
 of the anniversary/birthday/
 name-day!")

- b) *Wszystkiego najlepszego, zdrowia,
szczęścia, pomyślności!*
 ("All the best, good health,
 happiness, and welfare!")

- c) *Sto lat!*

- d) *Życzę wszystkiego najlepszego
(z okazji imienin)! (form)*
 ("I wish (you) all the best (on
 the occasion of (your) name-
 day)!")

English

- Happy anniversary/birthday!*

- Many happy returns!*

- May I wish you many happy returns
of the day. (form)*
*I'd like to wish you a happy birthday.
(form)*

Like the Polish formulae presented in examples 114.a,b,d, the Polish wishes expressed on the occasion of someone's anniversary, birthday, or name-day are usually of neutral character (115.a,b,d). In the formula presented in 115.b, the values wished are more precise; some other values are also mentioned in this kind of wishes (e.g. *dużo pieniędzy* ("a lot of money"), *dużo dzieci* ("a lot of children") – to a young couple, *dobrej żony/męża* ("a good wife/husband") – to a young man/woman, *zadowolenia z dzieci* ("the satisfaction of children"), etc.), but

certainly the choice of the values wished depends on the character of the relations between the interlocutors, the distance between them, their age, and sex (cf. Adamowski, 1992). The Polish and English formulae in 115.c, although formally different, have a lot in common: both refer to the concept of time; in using them S wishes his interlocutor many (in the Polish formula – one hundred) years to live. In formal situations both Polish and English formulae contain the performative verb *zyczyć* and *to wish*, respectively (115.d).

Responses to good wishes

Good wishes can be divided into two groups:

- those which can be reciprocated (see example 116.a)
- those which cannot (see example 116.b).

116. Polish

a) A: *Baw się dobrze!*

B: *Ty też!*

(“You too!”)

b) A: *Wszystkiego najlepszego!*

B: *Bardzo dziękuję.*

(“Thank you very much.”)

English

A: *Have a good time then.*

B: *Thanks, Eve. You too!*

A: *Many happy returns!*

B: *Thank you.*

The responses to wishes which can be reciprocated may be preceded by an expression of gratitude, but not necessarily. The reciprocation in the case of wishes differs from the reciprocation in the case of greeting and farewell formulae (111) in that the response is different from the wish both in its form and content. It usually takes the form of:

117. Polish

(*Dziękuję.*) *Wzajemnie!*

Nawzajem.

(“(Thank you.)

The same to you!”)

(*Dziękuję.*) *Ty też!* (inf)

(“(Thank you.) You too!”)

English

(*Thank you.*) *The same to you!*

(*Thank you.*) *You too!* (inf)

The responses to wishes which cannot be reciprocated are usually realized in Polish and in English by the tokens *dziękuję* and *thank you*, respectively. The forms *dzięki* (“thanks”) and *thanks* are restricted to informal situations (Blundell et al., 1992). In very informal situations speakers of English can say *cheers*.

Sometimes the kind of response depends on the situation in which it is uttered. A good wish which can be reciprocated does not have to be in certain contexts. The response can be a kind of comment to the wish, or Rec of the wish can utter a sound like *uhm*, or he can remain silent (118).

118. Polish

English

a) When A is off to a party and B is off to the cinema.

A: *Baw się dobrze!*

A: *Enjoy yourself!*

B: *Ty też!*

B: *Thanks. You too!*

b) When A is staying at home and B is off to a party.

A: *Baw się dobrze!*

A: *Enjoy yourself!*

B: *Mam nadzieję, że będę.*

B: *Thanks.*

(“I hope I will.”)

We can expect reciprocating responses to:

- general good wishes
- good wishes used as greeting and farewell formulae
- church holidays' wishes.

Non-reciprocating responses (e.g. expressions of gratitude and comments) can be expected after:

- good wishes passed on to a third person
- good wishes to a person who sneezes
- anniversary/birthday/name-day wishes.

3.2.4. Toasts

Toasts are special kinds of wishes expressed while drinking alcohol. Like compliments, congratulations and good wishes, they are used to create and maintain solidarity between interlocutors (Ożóg, 1990). Unlike other polite formulae, formulaic toasts are very few (119 and 120).

119. Polish Toasts

a) *(Na) zdrowie!*

(“Here’s to health!”)

(Za) zdrowie solenizanta/gości/gospodarzy/młodej pary!

(“Here’s to the health of the person celebrating his/her name-day/birthday/guests/hosts/the young couple”)

- b) *No to* + onomatopoeic word (e.g. *cyk* [tsik], *siup* [sjup], *bach* [bah])
(very inf) (Gawęda et al., 1982; Marcjanik, 1992a)
- c) Imperative forms, e.g. *Wypijmy!*
("Let's drink!")
- d) (*Piję*) *za pomyślność*.
("I drink) to good luck.")
- e) *Sto lat!; Wszystkiego najlepszego!; Pomyślności!* (see Subsection 3.2.3)
- f) *Pragnę wnieść toast za...*
("I would like to propose a toast to...")
(very form)

120. English Toasts

- a) *Cheers!* (inf)
- b) (*Here's*) *to true love/the adorable couple*.
- c) *Your very good health, Mr Kuparsky*. (form)
- d) *I should like to propose a toast to our host*. (very form)

Toasts' resemblance to good wishes is visible also in the values mentioned in them: health (119.a,c, and 120.b,c), good luck (119.d), or long life (119.e), or the same values expressed implicitly (119.f, 120.d). Toasts resemble good wishes in that they are also proposed on special occasions (e.g. name-days, birthdays, or weddings).

Polish and English toasts are similar not only in their content, but also in their form; they can have the form of a NP, a prepositional phrase, or a sentence. As in the case of wishes, the more formal the situation, the longer the toast. This refers also to non-formulaic toasts.

Besides the values mentioned before, the choice of toasts' content is almost free, and depends only on the situation in which it is to be proposed, and on S's fantasy. When the occasion is happy and personal, Dear, the author of *Oxford English. A Guide to Language* (1989:288) advises: "the best thing to remember is: 'What comes from the heart goes to the heart.'" This can be true for both Polish and English toasts. But toasts, like other polite formulae, are not always sincere, especially in formal situations, when S is not in a close relationship with the person to whom the toast is addressed.

Toasts can be responded to, especially in formal situations. Usually, as in the case of compliments, congratulations, and good wishes, Rc of the toast says *dziękuję* and *thank you*, respectively. When the character of the toast allows it can be reciprocated (121).

121. Polish

- a) A: *Twoje zdrowie!*
 ("Your health!")
 B: *Twoje też!*
 ("Yours too!")

- b) A: *Zdrowie solenizanta!*
 B: *Zdrowie gości!*

As has been mentioned, some toasts, like some good wishes, are expressed on special occasions which are particularly fortunate, or at least pleasant, to H.

English

- A: *Your very good health!*
B: *Thank you. And yours.*

3.2.5. Condolences

When something terrible or unfortunate happens to H, S expresses sympathy to him. In the case of the death of H's close relative, S expresses condolences, which, unlike compliments, congratulations, good wishes, and toasts, are not very diverse and are very scant of words.

The main function of condolences is creating and maintaining solidarity with the bereaved and expressing sympathy for him. Both in Polish and in English exist formulae expressing sympathy (122).

122. Polish

- a) *Składam serdeczne kondolencje.*
 (form)
 ("I express (my) whole-hearted
 condolences.")

- b) *Szczerze wyrazy współczucia.* (form)
 ("My) sincere words of
 sympathy.")

- c) *Tak mi przykro.*
 ("I'm so sorry.")

- d) *Jeśli mógłbym w czymś pomóc...*
 ("If I could help in
 anything...")

e)

English

- Please, accept my condolences.*
(form)

- You have my deepest sympathy.*
(form)

- I was terribly sorry when
I heard about...*

- If there is anything I can do...*

- I don't know what to say.*
(Saville-Troike, 1982:45)

When there is a great distance between interlocutors the formal direct formulae are used (122.a,b).

On occasion when interlocutors are in a close relationship or the deceased was S's close friend, these formulae seem to be "meaningless" and to depersonalize the ideas expressed (Saville-Troike, 1982). In such situations less formal expressions of sympathy are used (122.c,d,e). They are less formulaic or not formulaic at all, and as such they carry more meaning and express S's true feelings. Expressions presented in 122.d cannot be treated as condolences, but they are often used instead of them, as an offer to help really is proper on such occasions. To make condolences more personal speakers of English often use the form presented in 122.e, "which has itself become a routine" (ibid.:45).

Sympathy can also be expressed non-verbally, as "one can say something without uttering words" (ibid.:30). This kind of silence is called by Jaworski (1993) formulaic, because remaining silent in some situations can be treated as "formulaic linguistic (communicative) behaviour" (ibid.:56). It is quite popular among Poles, if not the most popular of all ways of expressing condolences. It is not uncommon in Poland for the families of the deceased to publish in obituaries "requests like: *'Prosi się o nieskładanie kondolencji'* ("No condolences, please"). In other words, a request for formulaic silence is made" (ibid.:62).

The contrastive analysis carried out above shows differences and similarities of pragmalinguistic as well sociopragmatic character between the verbal realizations of certain polite speech acts in Polish and English. Similarities may be explained by the small typological distance between the two languages and cultures, both of European origin, while differences are, perhaps, conditioned historically.

Conclusions

The aim of the present study was to provide a pragmatic contrastive analysis of polite verbal behaviour in Polish and English.

The contrastive analysis carried out in Chapter 3 discusses the verbal realization of most polite speech acts (namely greetings, farewells, thanks, apologies, compliments, congratulations, good wishes, toasts and condolences) in Polish and English. The polite formulae have been compared with respect to their form, semantic content, illocutionary force potential, and the contexts in which they can be used. On the basis of the above-mentioned analysis, the following typology of polite formulae can be proposed:

- a) formulae which are fully equivalent
- b) formulae which are partially equivalent:
 - formally different
 - semantically different
 - differing in illocutionary force potential
 - used in different contexts
- c) formulae which are non-equivalent.

Besides a purely pragmalinguistic comparison, a comparison of broader sociopragmatic character has been made – a comparison of the perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour in the two cultures.

This kind of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comparison of speech act realization patterns in Polish and English, although purely descriptive, may have a hypothesis-generating and explanatory role in the studies of IL pragmatics. It can help explain some problems accompanying the process of acquisition of English as a second language by Polish learners. It can provide some clues as to the sources influencing the character of the IL of Polish learners. It may also be useful for teachers of English as a second language, making them specially aware of some linguistic and cultural features regarded as baffling, and for their learners, helping them not only to learn some pragmatic knowledge of English

but also to open their eyes to some pragmatic aspects of their NL.

The contrastive analysis of a polite formulae makes up a picture of the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic dimensions of politeness.

Appendix I: The data base (fragments)

Thanks

A conversation between two women – friends.

W1: I've got something for you.

W2: You do? (She takes the package and unwraps it)

Oh, my God... a yellow scarf! This is just what I needed.

It's fantastic. Thank you.

A conversation between daughter and mother.

D: This is for you.

M: What? This is for me? Oh!

D: That's for you. (She giggles)

M: Oh, Kate, what'd you do that for?

Oh, that's lovely.

D: I'm glad you like it.

M: Oh, my, that's pretty. Thank you.

D: Oh, you're welcome. (They kiss)

A conversation between a little boy and his aunt.

A: Tom? Here's...

T: Oh, thank you.

A: Your birthday present.

T: Thank you. (opening it) Oh! Excellent!

I've always wanted roller-skates. Excellent! Thanks.

A: Good.

A conversation between two men – friends.

M1: Oh, I've only 10£. What am I going to do?

M2: I have money. I can lend you some.

M1: Oh, no, I don't want to bother you. Thanks.

M2: You can have it.

M1: Oh, I really appreciate this. Thanks.

Compliments

A conversation between two women – close friends.

W1: Well, you have a beautiful dress.

W2: That's because I've done it myself.

W1: Boy, talk about being modest!

A conversation between a man and a woman – acquaintances.

M: That portrait is really beautiful.

W: Thank you, I've always liked it a lot too.

A conversation between a woman and a man – acquaintances.

W: Nice garden.

M: Thanks to my wife.

A conversation between two young women – work-mates in the office.

W1: You look great.

W2: Thanks, you too.

A conversation between a young woman and a young man at a party.

W: You're funny.

M: You're a good audience.

A conversation between two women – meeting everyday at the bus stop.

W1: That's a nice bag.

W2: It's all scratched up. I'm going to buy a new one.

Appendix II: The discourse completion test

Read the following test carefully and suggest how you would react verbally to the situations presented below. Be polite, but at the same time write what you usually say in similar situations, not what is advised by books on social behaviour and etiquette.

1. You see a colleague you have not seen for a long time.
2. You see your friend, Tom, in the street.
3. You meet your friend, Anna, when it has been some time since you last saw her.
4. You see Miss Dickinson. You do not know her very well. It is the first time you have seen her today. What do you say to each other?
5. You meet an acquaintance from another university. What do you say to each other?
6. You have just greeted a fairly important customer. What do you say to each other?
7. You meet your aunt in the theatre foyer. What do you say to each other?
8. A friend asks how you are. And you reply, that:
 - a) You are feeling very happy.
 - b) You are not feeling totally well or particularly cheerful.
 - c) You are not feeling at all well.
9. Your boss asks how you are. And you reply, that:
 - a) You are feeling very happy.
 - b) You are not feeling very well or particularly cheerful.
 - c) You are not feeling at all well.
10. On a train you see an old friend of your father's.
11. You are seeing a colleague off at the airport.
12. You are saying goodbye to a friend.
13. You are seeing your aunt off at the railway station.

14. Someone you have met by chance at the airport is talking to you. You are in a hurry or you have an appointment or another excuse for leaving.
15. You go out to do some shopping. You stop to have a chat with your friend in the street. It is getting late and the shop will soon be closed. What do you say?
16. You are talking to someone. What do you say when you are reluctant, or want to seem reluctant to leave, but you have to end the conversation.
17. You are talking to your close friend and you want to end the conversation because you have to go out.
18. You bring a souvenir from a trip to Paris and give it to a friend. a) What do you say? b) How does he react?
19. You are changing platforms at the railway station with a heavy suitcase. Someone asks you: Can I help you with your suitcase? a) What do you say? b) What does he say in return?
20. Your colleague has bought you a book in London which you could not buy in your town. a) What do you say? b) What does he say in return?
21. Your friend has just translated a letter with which you had many problems. a) What do you say? b) What does he say in return?
22. Your boss helped you to get a scholarship. a) What do you say? b) What does he say in return?
23. You have just been elected president of a society. How do you thank your voters?
24. You have just explained to a colleague how a new computer works. How do you respond to his thanks?
25. How do you respond to thanks if you also have some small thing to say thank your interlocutor for?
26. You have just driven Professor Brown, whom you do not know well, to the railway station. How do you respond to his thanks?
27. You are offered another piece of cake and you don't want to accept it.
28. Your senior colleague offers you a cigarette and you accept it.
29. Someone you have recently met invites you to the theatre. a) How do you accept the invitation? b) How do you decline it?
30. Your friend asks you if you fancy a cup of coffee. a) How do you accept the offer? b) How do you decline it?
31. While dancing you tread on your partner's toe. a) What do you say? b) How does he/she react?
32. You bumped into someone in the street. a) What do you say? b) What does he say in return?
33. While discussing some important matter with your friend, you feel the need to contradict him. a) What do you say? b) What does he say in return?
34. Your neighbour promised to return your typewriter that day, but he didn't. a) What does he say? b) How do you react?

35. Your boss had an unexpected meeting, and you had to wait for him for an hour. a) What does he say afterwards? b) How do you respond to it?
36. The waiter in a restaurant brings you roast beef instead of fried chicken. a) What does he say? b) How do you react?
37. Your notoriously unpunctual friend is late again for a meeting with you. a) What does he say? b) How do you react?
38. A driver in a car park reverses into your car. a) What does he say? b) How do you respond to it?
39. You put a heavy shopping bag on the shelf in the bus. The bus comes to a halt and the bag falls down hitting a passenger in the head. a) What do you say? b) How does he react?
40. Your friend apologizes to you for something. You feel rather hurt or offended, but don't want to show it.
41. On a bus you notice that a man who is getting off has left his umbrella.
42. You are lost in a big city. You want to attract someone's attention to ask him for directions.
43. You want to pass through a crowded bus.
44. During a vivid discussion, you want to express your point of view. How do you attract your colleagues' attention?
45. You are talking to somebody at a party. Suddenly, you feel the need to go to the toilet.
46. A colleague a) you don't know well, b) you know very well is leaving your firm for another job. a) What do you tell him? b) How does he respond to your wishes?
47. What do you say if you want someone to pass your good wishes on to a) your friend, b) your senior colleague, c) your boss's wife?
48. Your friend is off to a party. You are off to the cinema. What do you say to each other?
49. What would you say when a) your close friend, b) your senior colleague, c) your father-in-law were facing a challenge? What would he say in return?
50. What do you say when your interlocutor sneezes? Does he say anything?
51. What would you wish a) your friend, b) your teacher, c) your elderly aunt at parting? What would his/her response be?
52. What would you wish your teacher on church holidays a) Christmas, b) Easter?
53. What would you tell a) your close friend, b) your neighbour, c) your boss on his/her birthday?
54. What would you say if the father, husband or a close relative of your friend had died?
55. You raise your glass a) in a restaurant with your friends, b) at an official reception, c) at the family gathering.

56. Your boss and his wife (you've met her for the first time) have invited you to dinner at their home, and served you a rather nice meal. a) What would you say? b) What would their reaction be?
57. How would you compliment your friend on an excellent apple pie? What would she say in return?
58. What would you say to your colleague's wife (whom you hardly know) if you wanted to compliment her on her appearance? What would her response be?
59. Tell your girlfriend, or your friend (girl) that you like her eye-shadow and her earrings. What would she say in return?
60. A colleague from your firm has just obtained a better post. a) What do you say? b) What does he say in return?
61. Your friend, John, has just passed an important exam. a) What do you say? b) What is his response?
62. An acquaintance you do not know well has made a very successful speech at a big conference. a) What do you tell him? b) What is his response?
63. Your friend has just won a chess match. a) What do you tell him? b) How does he react?

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Ewa Jakubowska

Kontrastywny wymiar pojęcia uprzejmości w języku polskim i angielskim

S t r e s z c z e n i e

Przedmiotem pracy są zagadnienia realizacji językowej grzecznościowych aktów mowy: powitań, pożegnań, podziękowań, przeproszeń, komplementów, gratulacji, życzeń, toastów i kondolencji.

Autorka przeprowadziła pragmatyczną analizę kontrastywną grzecznościowego zachowania językowego w języku polskim i angielskim, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem różnic i podobieństw tak w formie, jak i w treści formuł grzecznościowych używanych w różnych kontekstach (analiza ta miała za zadanie umożliwić autorce odpowiedzenie na następujące pytania: W jakim stopniu grzecznościowe zachowanie językowe różni się w tych dwóch językach? Gdzie można dostrzec największą różnicę?).

Praca składa się z trzech rozdziałów oraz wniosków. Rozdział 1 przedstawia tło pragmatyczne, w rozdziale 2. opisana jest metodologia, która stanowiła podstawę badań i określiła tok analizy, rozdział 3 zawiera pragmatyczną analizę kontrastywną wybranych zwrotów grzecznościowych w języku polskim i angielskim.

Ewa Jakubowska

Kontrastiver Aspekt des Begriffes der Höflichkeit im Polnischen und Englischen

Z u s a m m e n f a s s u n g

In der vorliegenden Arbeit werden die Probleme der sprachlichen Realisierung der gesprochenen Höflichkeitsformeln – Begrüßung, Abschied, Danksagung, Entschuldigung, Kompliment, Gratulation, Wünsche, Trinkspruch und Beileid – analysiert.

Die Verfasserin führte eine pragmatische kontrastive Analyse der Höflichkeitsformeln im Polnischen und Englischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Unterschiede und Ähnlichkeiten sowohl in der Form als auch im Inhalt der in verschiedenen Kontexten gebrauchten Höflichkeitsformeln durch. Diese Analyse sollte der Verfasserin die Antwort auf folgende Fragen ermöglichen: In wiefern unterscheiden sich die Höflichkeitsformeln in den beiden Sprachen? Wo sind die größten Unterschiede zu finden?

Die Arbeit setzt sich aus drei Kapiteln und Schlußfolgerungen zusammen. Im 1. Kapitel wird der pragmatische Hintergrund dargestellt. Im 2. Kapitel wurde die Methodologie, die Basis für die Untersuchungen bildet und den Verlauf der Analyse bestimmt, dargestellt. Das 3. Kapitel bildet eine pragmatische kontrastive Analyse ausewählter Höflichkeitsformeln im Polnischen und Englischen.

BUŚ

Cover design by **Ewa Jakubowska**

Cover illustration: Gustave Courbet (1819–1877)

Good morning, Mr Courbet

Musée Fabre, Montpellier (scissored)

Executive Editor

Jerzy Stencel

Technical Editor

Barbara Arenhövel

Proof-reader

Barbara Konopka

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ISSN 0208-6336

ISBN 83-226-867-5

Published by
Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego
ul. Bankowa 12B, 40-007 Katowice

First impression. Edition: 200 + 50 copies.
Publishing sheets: 9.0. Printed sheets: 7.5.
Passed to the Printing House in December 1998.
Signed for printing in April 1999.

Price zł 9,-

Printed by
Przedsiębiorstwo Miernictwa Górniczego Sp. z o. o.
Oddział Poligrafii
ul. Mikołowska 100a, 40-065 Katowice

nr inw.: BGN - 2664



BG N 286/1764

ISSN 0208-6336
ISBN 83-226-867-5